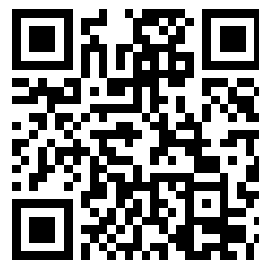


---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google<sup>TM</sup> books

<https://books.google.com>



B 1,104,217



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M



M











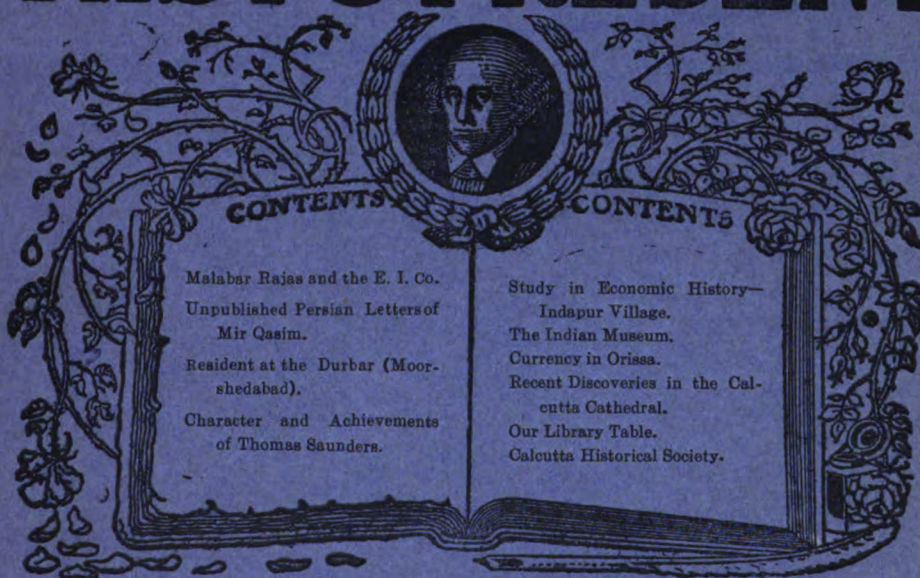








# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



Malabar Rajas and the E. I. Co.  
Unpublished Persian Letters of  
Mir Qasim.  
Resident at the Durbar (Moor-  
shedabad).  
Character and Achievements  
of Thomas Saunders.

Study in Economic History—  
Indapur Village.  
The Indian Museum.  
Currency in Orissa.  
Recent Discoveries in the Cal-  
cutta Cathedral.  
Our Library Table.  
Calcutta Historical Society.



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MOONLIGHT PUBLISHERS  
THREE, RAIPAT NAGAR,  
W. BENGAL-24



# Calcutta Historical Society.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

## Patrons :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW, P.C., K.T.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.  
THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.I.E., G.B.E.  
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE COUNTESS OF LYTTON, C.I.  
LIEUT.-COL. THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS STANLEY JACKSON, P.C., G.C.I.E.

## Vice-Patrons :

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE MOST REVEREND DR. FERDINAND PERIER, S. J., ARCHBISHOP OF CALCUTTA.  
THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD, AMIR-UL-OMRAH, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.  
MAHARAJADHIRAJ SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

## Vice-Presidents :

MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	LIEUT.-COL. D. G. CRAWFORD, I.M.S., (Retired).
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.	MAJOR V. C. P. HODSON.
THE REV. W. K. FIRMINER, M.A., D.D., LATE ARCHDEACON OF CALCUTTA.	MR. A. CASSELLS, M.A., L.C.S. (Retired).
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.	MON. HARIHAR SETT, CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR (CHANDER- NAGORE).
RAJA JANAKINATH ROY.	

## Members of Council :

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.                      | 8. MR. NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI, M.A.            |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.                            | 9. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.               |
| 3. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.                          | 10. MAJOR H. HOBBS.                             |
| 4. MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.  | 11. MR. J. G. BROOKER,                          |
| 5. DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.  | 12. MR. PERCY BROWN.                            |
| 6. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE A. S. M.<br>LATIFUR RAHMAN, M.A. (CANTAB),<br>BAR-AT-LAW. | 13. MR. N. GANGULY.                             |
| 7. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.  | 14. MR. R. MAULIK.                              |
|  | 15. MAHARAJA KUMAR PROBIRENDRA MOHAN<br>TAGORE. |
|  | 16. MR. D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.                    |
|  | 17. MR. A. LEHURAU.                             |

## Executive Committee :

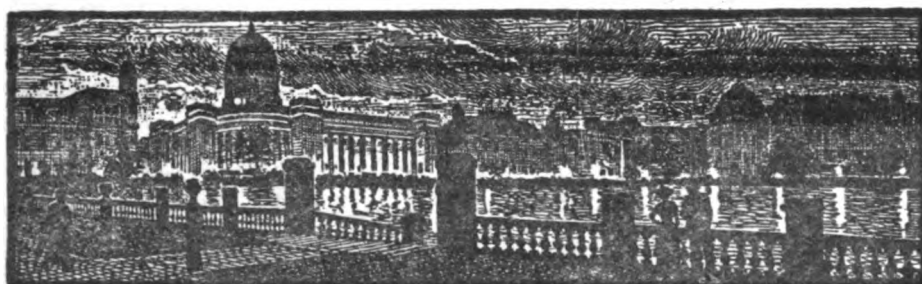
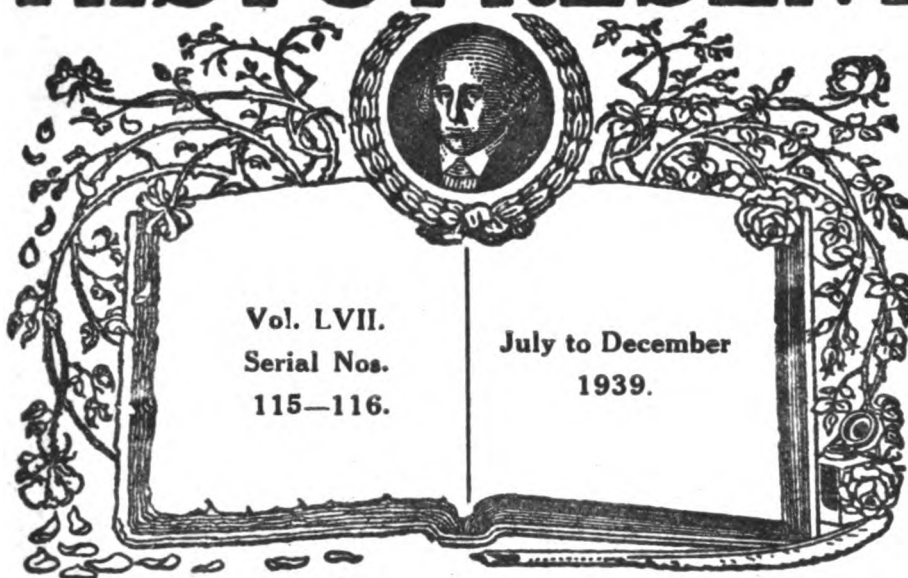
- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.     | 6. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.   |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.           | 7. MR. R. MAULIK.                 |
| 3. SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E. (CHAIR-<br>MAN).                     | 8. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S. |
| 4. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.         | 9. MR. J. G. BROOKER.             |
| 5. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN,<br>M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW. | 10. KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH. |
|   | 11. THE HONORARY EDITOR.          |
|   | 12. THE HONORARY TREASURER.       |
|   | 13. THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.     |
|   | 14. THE HONORARY MANAGER.         |

**Editor "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT" :—**MR. PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A..  
**Honorary Treasurer :—**MAJOR H. HOBBS—(9, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA).  
**Honorary Secretary :—**MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.  
**Do. Do. (Joint) :—**DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.  
**Honorary Manager :—**MR. NARENDRANATH GANGULY.  
(98/5A, Sir Surendra Banerjee Road, Calcutta).  
**Bankers :—**THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED, CALCUTTA.  
**Auditors :—**MESSRS. LOVELOCK AND LEWES, 4, LYONS RANGE.  
**Office :—**3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET, CALCUTTA.

SUBSCRIPTION : Rs. 20 PER ANNUM TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE.



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



## CONTENTS.

### ARTICLES.

	PAGES
I. THE MALABAR RAJAHS AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: BY DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S. ...	1—9
II. AN UNPUBLISHED PERSIAN LETTER OF MIR QASIM: BY PROF. S. H. ASKARI, M.A., B.L. ...	10—23
III. THE RESIDENT AT THE DURBAR (MOORSHEDABAD), HIS POSITION AND FUNCTIONS (1765—1772): BY D. N. BANERJEE, M.A. ...	24—35
IV. A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THOMAS SAUNDERS: BY DR. B. S. BALIGA, M.A., Ph.D. ...	36—45
V. A STUDY IN ECONOMIC HISTORY—INDAPUR VILLAGE: BY PROF. C. B. JOSHI, M.A. ...	46—53
VI. THE INDIAN MUSEUM: BY DR. BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.A.B.S. ...	54—65
VII. CURRENCY IN ORISSA: BY K. P. MITRA, M.A., B.L. ...	66—76
VIII. SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES ETC. INCLUDING A LARGE VAULT IN THE CALCUTTA CATHEDRAL: BY WILLIAM S. BIRNEY ...	77—80
IX. OUR LIBRARY TABLE: BY DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR ...	81—82
X. CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ...	83—87

### ILLUSTRATIONS.

	TO FACE PAGE.
1. The Entrance Hall of the Indian Museum ...	57
2. The Long Gallery of the Archæological Section ...	} 59
3. The Invertebrate Gallery as seen from the South end ...	
4. The Ethnological Gallery as seen from near its entrance ...	60
5. The Gallery of the Industrial Section as seen from near its entrance ...	61
6. The Art Gallery—looking North ...	} 63
7. The Art Gallery—looking South ...	
8. The Meteorite Gallery ...	64

# The Malabar Rajahs and the East India Company

---

(Based on unpublished English records).

---

THE relation of the Company with the Rajahs of Malabar during the close of the 18th century, when the English were engaged in bitter conflicts with their most inveterate foes, Hyder and Tipu, still forms an unwritten chapter of Modern Indian History. Mill, the classic historian of this period, has not dealt with it. Thornton in his 'History of the British Empire in India' makes only incidental references to British campaigns in Malabar in course of the Company's wars with Hyder and Tipu. Robert Montgomery Martin has quoted a few letters relating to this topic, dated between 1798-99, in his compilation of the 'Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley'. Mr. Sidney J. Owen has included certain records regarding the Malabar coast in his 'A Selection from the Despatches, Memoranda and other papers relating to India of the Duke of Wellington'; but these are all confined to the period extending from the 7th April, 1800, to the 11th July, 1804, and illustrate the activities of the Duke of Wellington in bringing the Malabar country under the effective control of the English. We get also some stray references regarding the Malabar Rajahs in Francis Buchanan's 'Journey (1800-1801) from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar'.

Some time back, I discovered a file of manuscript English letters in the valuable historical collections of Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, a prominent public man of the metropolis of modern Bihar having a keen interest in historical antiquities, which are full of many important and interesting details regarding the relations of the Malabar chiefs with the Sultans of Mysore since Hyder's first invasion of this region in 1766 A.D. and subsequently with the English East India Company. I am told by the Rai Bahadur that he purchased these records from the firm of Francis Edwards Limited a well known book-seller of London. Besides being important for the study of Anglo-Malabar relations, these letters also supply us with many significant facts regarding Anglo-Mysore relations during the period under review, which I hope to bring to light in the near future. As an example, I quote here only one such letter written by Captain Alexander Walker to Lt. Col. Dow (commanding the northern district of Malabar since May 1798),

dated Bombay, the 9th July, 1798 :—"The intelligence conveyed occasionally from Madras concerning Tippoo's intentions is always of an opposite complexion to that received from Malabar. By a statement of apparently great candour which I saw lately he is represented as anxious and determined to preserve his treaty with us. The French have used every argument to shake his resolution and he is kept informed of the brilliant state of their affairs in Europe. He has answered all their entreaties by observing that the fate of war is uncertain as he has experienced, that those events which are represented so much to their advantage have happened in a part of the world from this where they have no influence and that our power continues as far as relates to his unimpaired. The mind and the interest of Tipoo must always be hostile to us but there is the strongest evidence that he will adhere rigidly to the terms on which he made peace with us until the French can support him with a fleet and an Army, events unlikely to happen. This disposition in Tippoo derives a greater degree of credit from the character of those counsellors, who share at present all his confidence".

Turning to Malabar, we find that the more important chiefs of this region were the Rajah of Cherical, the Rajah of Cohote, the Rajah of Cartenadar, the Rajah of Coorg, the Rajah of Bullum (1), the Pyche Rajah in Wynaad, and the Rajah of Cannanore. During Hyder's first invasion of the Malabar in the year 1766, the Rajah of Cherical "took refuge in Tellicherry, where he remained under the Company's protection till the year 1776 when Hyder having made a peace with the Marathas invaded the Malabar coast once more and subdued it. The Prince of Cherical, tired of leading an inactive life at Tellicherry, withdrew himself from the Company's Protection, and went to Hyder who gave him the government of the Cohote country, and also in the year 1777 restored to him the Cherical country (which since the year 1766 had been in the hands of an ally Rajah of Cannanore) upon engaging to pay him a yearly tribute, the Prince continued in the enjoyment of these countries and received the Revenues, but appeared in arms against the Company at the commencement of the troubles in the year 1799 as he declared at that time by Hyder ordered" (2). In 1797 the Cherical chief was admitted as an ally of the East India Company. The Rajah of Cohote was also deprived of his territory in the year 1766 by Hyder but taking advantage of the war with the Company in 1768 the reigning King of Cohote entered the country and obliged Hyder's troops to abandon it, he continued in quite possession of it till the year 1777 when on Hyder's

(1) The district of the Bullum Rajah extended "about thirty-five or forty miles along the Western Ghauts, between the Currut Kull or Jemalabad Ghaut, the road to which is its northern boundary, and the district of Koorg, which bounds it to the south-ward. Its general breadth from west to east is about twenty-five miles, and it is bounded to the eastward by the river Hemavutty which rises nearly in the Cundacull Ghut, and falls into the Cavery after passing the boundary of the districts of the rajahs of Koorg and Bull". Letter to Lieutenant-General Stuart, Serinagapatam, 31st October, 1801, in Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, pp. 129-31.

(2) Letter from Richard Church and Factors at Tellicherry to the Commissioners near Mangalore, dated the 16th February 1798. Vide No. 11 in Appendix to this paper.



second invasion he was once more obliged to fly and retire to his strongholds in the Hills, and, would never submit to Hyder's government, the successor of that prince made an attempt to get possession of this country again in the year 1779, regained part of it, but on Hyder's sending some forces from Serinagapatam the Cohote Raja retired to the Hills" (3). He later on recovered possession of his dominions and became a friend of the Company. The old Rajah of Cartenadar died during the siege of Tellicherry by Hyder, who seized his dominions. His successor "recovered them again in the year 1768 in the same manner as the Rajah of Cohote and in the year 1777 made an agreement with Hyder Ally to become his tributary when he was restored to his territory, but evading Hyder's orders to assist the French", when the English besieged Mahe in 1779, "he was forced to flee (from) his kingdom being in danger of his life, and retired to Tellicherry, and elder nephew of the late Prince succeeded him and was in arms" against the English; but subsequently the Rajah of Cartenadar became an ally of the Company (4). So far as Coorg, lying about 40 miles to the eastward of Tellicherry, was concerned, on the reduction of it by Hyder in 1773 its Rajah "was permitted to retain little but was divested of all power and authority and employed in assisting in the collection of revenues, Hyder governing it by one of his own officers" (5). But after the siege of Tellicherry had been raised by Hyder, one Olah Naigin, "a principal inhabitant of those parts, and a man of an enterprising genius, privately encouraged thereto by the Rajah's family to whom he was related by marriage persuaded his countrymen to take up arms and revolt against Hyder's government and having in the course of two or three months raised a body of 6 or 7000 men he with them in a short time subdued almost the whole of that country, fortified the passes into it, defeated several detachments against him \* \* \*" (6). The young Rajah of Coorg was imprisoned by Tipu Sultan; but he succeeded in effecting his escape and in re-asserting his authority over his kingdom by expelling 'the foreign population' that had been planted there by the Sultan of Mysore. During the third Anglo-Mysore War, he "gave passage to the army of General Abercromby through his dominions (in 1791), and greatly facilitated their operations by the supply of provisions, the communication of intelligence, and the extension of every species of aid he could command" (7). At the close of this war, the English obtained by the treaty of Serinagapatam the province of Malabar and sovereignty over their ally, the Rajah of Coorg,—both of which were important for the English as enabling them to hold Tipu in check. Malabar was placed under the Chiefship of the factory at Tellicherry (8), where the Company had first settled in 1683 A.D.

But all the Rajahs of Malabar did not quietly submit to the Company's authority. Rather, the relations between them, excepting the Rajah of

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 499.

(8) Vide Docucent No. 11 quoted in Appendix to this paper.

Coorg, and the English, during the period following the treaty of Serinagapatam, were far from friendly. The Duke of Wellington observed in his *'Memorandum on Marquess Wellesley's Government of India'* written in 1806 A.D., that "as for the Rajahs of Malabar, they (with the exception of the Rajah of Coorg) had been in a state of hostility with the Company from the conclusion of the peace of 1792 till the year 1798, and had kept a considerable proportion of the Bombay army in constant hostile operations against them" (9). The records now studied by me, contain numerous details, which amply vindicate this observation. We know from one of these (10) that in course of two or three years after 1792, the Government of Bombay placed the administration of Malabar in the hands of a Commission, composed of Mr. Wilkinson (President), Lt. Col. Dow, Mr. Handley (?), Mr. Rivett, Mr. Robert Richard. The Commission was constituted with the hope that it "would be a sufficient provision against inefficient councils and corrupt practices" (11). But its members did not pull together well, and the Court of Directors held them responsible for the rebellions of the Malabar Rajahs since about 1796 A.D. (12).

The Bombay Government took immediate measures to suppress these risings in Malabar, and the vigorous efforts of a number of British generals like General Stuart, Lt. Col. Dow, Major General Robert Bowle, Captain Alexander Walker, Lt. Colonels Dunlope and Wiseman, Thomas Eliff, and others, succeeded in compelling some of the Rajahs to submit to British authority; of all the British commanders, Lt. Col. Dow played the most prominent part. Thus in October 1796, the Rajah of Cohote was granted 'free pardon' by the governments of Bombay and Bengal (13). He became henceforth a faithful ally of the Company and promised to help it against the Pyche Rajah. On the 4th May, 1797, the Company issued a Proclamation promising 'clemency' to such persons "as actually and formally put themselves" under British authority and also to such "chiefs and Rayots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation" to the British government (14).

But the Pyche Rajah of Wynaad and his adherents still offered "the most obstinate resistance" (15), and on the 9th May, 1797, General Stuart wrote from Tellicherry to Lt. Col. Dow, commanding at Cohote, "that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to accomplish this desired event. The Rewards for bringing in his person, if not already mentioned to the

---

(9) Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, p. 4.

(10) An unsigned rough draft of a letter to the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) Vide document No. 1 quoted in Appendix to this paper.

(14) Vide document No. 5 in Appendix to this paper.

(15) Vide document No. 6 in Appendix to this paper.

irregular Moplahs or chiefs, it ought to be done immediately \* \* \* (16). The Bombay Government wrote to Lt. Col. Dow on the 25th July, 1797, that the Pyche Rajah was "no longer to exert authority in his district, which it proposed to give away to the Cotiote (17) Rajah (18). After resisting for some time the vigorous exertions of Lt. Col. Dow, the Pyche Rajah signed a treaty with the Company. But this treaty, as the Earl of Mornington observed in his letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, written on the 28th February, 1798, from Cape of Good Hope on his way to India, was not "so complete \* \* \* as to warrant a sentiment of security either in his weakness or in his sincerity" (19). He continued therein:—"With respect to the coast of Malabar I shall never think our affairs safe in that quarter until the whole tribe of peculators and plunderers has been severely punished, and until the Pyche Rajah has been reduced to unconditional submission. Our possessions on the coast of Malabar will become an encumbrance to us if they are not speedily brought into some condition of order" (20). We know from certain records quoted by Martin (21) that the Company adopted vigorous measures to bring the Rajahs of Malabar under its influence and to resist the claims of Tipu over them (22); and that at the close of the last Mysore War the control of the entire length of the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cochin, important from strategic as well as commercial points of view, passed to it.

But, as Mr. Owen has pointed out, "except at the coast stations, the Company's authority in the country was, for some time, little more than nominal" (23). He has quoted certain despatches of the Duke of Wellington which show how the Duke had to struggle hard from 1800 to 1804 to make the Company's authority effective over the Malabar coast.

---

(16) Ibid, and also document No. 9.

(17) For a description of Cotiote, vide Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, pp. 96, 131, 483, 490, 499, 520, 530, 540.

(18) Letter from Governor Duncan to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated the 26th July, 1797.

(19) Martin, *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 24.

(20) Ibid, p. 30.

(21) Ibid, pp. 323, 436, 443, 520, 524.

(22) Vide Document No. 11 quoted in the Appendix to this paper.

(23) Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, XXXII.

## APPENDIX.

1. Letter from A. Dow to Koorminaad Rajah (of Cohote), dated Calicut, Octo., 1796 :

"I congratulate you with sincere pleasure on the free pardon conferred on your relations by the Govt. of Bengal and Bombay 'which I am also happy I have in some measure been the means of accomplishing' . . . . The welfare and prosperity of you and your family is what I very much desire and the good opinion I entertain of you leads me to hope that you will take care not to disappoint me in my expectations. The eyes of the Governor General, the Govt. of Bombay and all the Gentlemen are now towards you.

They expect not only that you will give good advice to your relations but that you will pay without delay your 3 Kisty. You remember what trouble your delay in paying the 1st and 2nd occasioned both to you and to me. You have too much understanding to allow this to happen again . . . ."

2. Translation of an *olla* from Kiruda Werma, Rajah of Cotiote, to Commissioner Col. Dow :—

"What passed between us when we had meeting above the Ghauts in the mouth of Mithoonum 971 you must well recollect and what took place thereafter has been the subject of many letters—after having secured a Pardon while I was residing peaceably without any attempt towards interrupting the Company's business at Tellacllum, the Company giving credit to the words of wicked people, and believing everything they chose to represent, withdrew their protection from my subjects. You very well know the confidential footing on which I formerly lived with the Hon'ble Company. If to your goodness I shall be in future indebted for a Return of the like confidence I myself be permitted to reside in peace and . . . in my country, I will myself pay faithfully, the Company's Angdre (Revenue)."

3. "In prosecution of the plan for the subjugation of the Pyche Rebel by the means of Trafalgar troops, we have to acquaint you that the Coorminaad Raja has communicated to us his intentions of shortly proceeding to the Wynaad at the head of two thousand men, part of which will ascend the pass of Pyrmulla under the command of Cootally Nair, and part will prosecute their march under him at the route of Tambercherry Ghaut. This last place he strongly recommends should be occupied by a body of Regular troops to cover his retreat in the event of his being unexpectedly obliged to retire. In this measure we cordially coincide both on motives of general policy, as well as the immediate necessity which exists for the presence of Military forces in that quarter to obviate the conclusion which Tippoo Sultan—should be avow the letters of his officers to Colonel Dow—may draw that our precipitate abandonment of Wynaad was in itself an acknowledgment of his superior claims to that Territory." (Letter from Rivett, Wilkinson, Richards, members of the Commission at Mahe, to Major General Robert

Bowle, Commanding the Troops in the Province of Malabar, dated Mahe, April 10th, 1797).

4. "I have judged it necessary to enclose you a letter of further Instruction for your Guidance in carrying the proposed service into execution and I should think it would be proper for you to communicate the outlines of the Instructions at large to Lt. Col. Dunlope and Wiseman, in order that they may be acquainted with the intention of marching the present detachment into Cohote, and with your proposed plan of operations etc., that in the event of any accident happening to you (which God forbid) they may be able to follow up the intended plan as far as they may find it practicable.

All the troops, Regular and Irregular, with the provisions, stores, carriage, etc., which is to attend the detachment on the present service, being now in camp, and I trust in readiness to move, and every proper inducement having been held out to the Pyche Rajah and his Adherents to come in and submit themselves to Government having proved ineffectual I am now to direct that you under your command march the Detachment into the Cohote district tomorrow morning by such routes and in such column or columns as you may judge most proper for the purpose of carrying into execution the orders you are already in possession of.

You will as often as you can find proper opportunities inform me of your progress and success and your probable further views or speculations regarding the reducing the refractory Inhabitants of that districts to a proper state of subjection and, making them obedient to the Hon'ble Company's Government". (Letter from General Stuart to Lt. Col. Dow, commanding at Cottiangurry, dated Tellicherry, Sunday the 7th May, 1797).

5. "Since despatching to you my instructions and transmitting the Proclamation under the 4th May, it has occurred to me that difficulties may arise from the tendency of the last writing, which holds out pardon and consequently protection to those who surrender themselves to our Govt.

The literal interpretation may only warrant that such clemency be extended only to such persons as actually and formally put themselves in our power and you may probably entertain doubts as to the propriety of imparting the indulgence to those who neglect the external ceremony of submission but also remaining quietly or indifferently at their homes may be said to conform to the enlarged meaning or spirit of the Proclamation. \* \* \* \* You will be pleased to consider the Chiefs or Ryots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation to our Govt. as enjoying our protection and entitled to the benefit of the Proclamation \* \* \* \*

The detachment must in the same manner pervade and penetrate through the country as if it was universally hostile, but in that case the persons and property of the submissive inhabitants are not to be injured". (Letter from General Stuart, Headquarters, Tellicherry, 7th May, 1797, to Lt. Col. Dow).

6. "I think it necessary to inform you that you may expect the most obstinate resistance from the Pyche Rajah and his adherents as it appears

by a letter received last night that everything he required was offered to him by the Cherical Rajah to induce him to come in. Even the old Rajah of(?) who is upwards of 85 years of age offered to accompany him and to be answerable for his returning in safety to Cherical should he not approve of the terms that we might be disposed to grant him. This being the case it is of the utmost importance that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to accomplish this desired event. The Rewards for bringing in his person if not already mentioned to the irregular Moplahs or Chiefs, it ought to be done immediately and I have the greatest confidence should he meet you in the field and loose in action 2 or 300 of his adherents he will sure apply to you to come in for attached as those people are to their chiefs I never knew them bear up against so severe a loss of Men but the consequence was generally if not always attended with their beginning immediately to disperse.

I trust I shall have good accounts from you in the course of the night or Early in the morning". (A private letter from General Stuart, dated Tellicherry, 12, O'clock 9th May, 1797, to Lt.-Col. Dow, commanding Cohote).

7. "As I deem the Angurry (?) of Conjiote to be a proper station for securing the future tranquility of the Cotiote and other districts below the Western Ghauts, I have judged it necessary you should take part with your detachments in that village (*i.e.*, Wynaad). You will please therefore to make yourself acquainted with all the passes that lead into this country and particularly with those that are adjacent, as it is principally with a view of maintaining the communication through these passes uninterrupted that the troops are quartered in the Wynaad.

\* \* \* \* \*

For your information and further guidance I have enclosed a list of the number and distances of the Ghauts that open from this district on the Coramballa" . . . . . List of Names of the Ghauts or Passes that led into the Wynaad and Coramballa districts :—

- 1st. Carra Cotha Cherrim to the southward.
- 2nd. Pandaloor Cherrim 8 miles to the Northwest of the former.
- 3rd. Cholanadi Cherrim 8 miles from Pandaloor.
- 4th. Kyda Kundiparra Cherrim 4 miles north of the former.
- 5th. Tamricherry Cherrim     ...     ...     4 miles.
- 6th. Tallinattoo Cherrim or Balliala     ...     6 miles.
- 7th. Tennoo Cherrim     ...     8 miles.
- 8th. Erromootoor Cherrim     ...     4 miles.
- 9th. Cootiary Cherrim     ...     4 miles.
- 10th. Ella Cherrim     ...     2 miles.
- 11th. Perrim Cherrim     ...     8 miles.
- 12th. Nelliordo Cherrim     ...     10 miles.
- 13th. Motioor Cherrim     ...     2 miles.

(Letter from Col. Dow to Lt. Thomas Iliff, Commanding the Detachment of the 9th Battalion in the Wynaad, dated Conjiote, 17th May, 1796).



8. Government advertisement after the re-establishment of peace in the Cotiote District :—

“Peace having been re-established in the Cotiote District Inhabitants of Cotiote may safely return and quietly live in their homes and there will be no impediment to their going, and coming, carrying and bringing, here and there, anything they chose ; the communication being again open, and free, as usual, between the said District and the rest of the Hon’ble Company’s Dominions in Malabar should any commit malpractices they shall have punishment from the Company inflicted on them, and if anyone crosses the River from the seacoast and without consent of the owner cuts down a tree or plucks the fruits of the Gardens, and carries them away, he shall also be punished”. (Dated, Tellicherry, the 23rd July, 1797).

8A. Letter from Governor Duncan and Stuart to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated, Tellicherry, the 26th July, 1797.

Purport :—“Pyche Raja is no longer to exert any authority in the District” ;—proposal to give away that district to the Cotiote Rajah.

9. Memoranda for Colonel Dow’s Information and Guidance :—

“Colonel Dow should exert every nerve to surprise the person of Canote Numbyar, and take him, living or dead, as he is the primary and subsisting cause of all the present Disturbances, and alone prevents the Pyche Rajah from coming in, as the Governor has been well apprised by the agents of the Cherical Raja.

It ought to be also a constant object with Colonel Dow to seize on the person of the Pyche Raja, offering for him and for Canote Numbyar the rewards already specified in the Letter to the Colonel from the Commander-in-Chief, which if explained to the Moplahs may induce them to attempt surprizing either one or both of these Chief persons in the present rebellion.

The seizure in like manner of Kydere Amboo and of all the other headmen under the Pyche Raja are objects that Colonel Dow must never lose sight of, but steadily pursue by every means in his power”.

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

---

## An Unpublished Persian Letter of Mir Qasim

---

SOME time back I discovered an unpublished Persian letter of Nawab Mir Qasim in a valuable collection of correspondence entitled (*Dastur-ul-impla* (1), which is preserved in an old library at Patna City. This letter has not been as included in any of the compilation of contemporary documents, such as the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, *Vansittart's Narrative*, etc., and it certainly escaped the notice of the contemporary Bihar historian, Ghulam Husain, author of *Siyar-ul-mutakharin*. It appears from a comparison of Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* with this letter, that it was probably consulted by him, as he uses certain terms and expressions exactly in the forms as they occur in this letter.

As we find from internal evidence in the letter, it was written by Mir Qasim, the expelled Nawab of Bengal, to the members of the Council in Calcutta, from Oudh after the death of Mir Jafar, which took place early in 1765, and in the 12th year of his expulsion from Bengal, that is, early in 1776 A.D. Though it contains a rather sketchy narrative of the transactions in Bengal from the Revolution of 1757 till the date of the writing of this letter, yet it is historically important as being a contemporary document regarding the relations among Mir Qasim, Mir Jafar, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla of Oudh and the English. We get here also some new facts. As for example, it tells us of Mir Jafar's intrigues with the Company, through Ali Ibrahim Khan, Mir Sulaiman, Mirza Abu Mohammad and Niyamat Khan, against Mir Qasim after the latter had been installed as the Nawab ; of an attempt being made by Ali Beg Khan Kharji to poison Mir Qasim while he was in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla ; and of Mir Qasim's throwing the blame for the murder of Rajballabh and Ram Narain on Gurgin Khan but his admission of personal responsibility for the murder of the Jagat Seths, who, according to him, on their failure to satisfy him by an offer of 25 lacs of rupees tried to engage Mir Raushan Ali Khan through a bribe of Rs. 20 lacs to murder the Nawab and some of whose letters against the Nawab were intercepted by him (this fact is corroborated by the *Riyaz-us-salatin*). Mir Qasim further observes in this letter that his uncontrollable soldiers, particularly Sumru, were responsible for the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, that Mir Jafar secretly incited Sumru to perpetrate this horrible deed with a view to create an unbridgeable gulf between the English and

---

(1) I have discussed the historical importance of this collection in another article to be published shortly in J. B. O. R. S.

Mir Qasim, and that this act had behind it the sanction of a firman of Emperor Shah Alam II.

English translation of "the copy of the letter, addressed by Mir Mohammad Qasim from Oudh to the Council at Calcutta, after his expulsion from the Subahs of Bengal and Bihar". (D. I. 61a—70a).

"God the Great has made the gentlemen (of the Council) just and of good disposition and endowed them with all the laudable virtues and, therefore, it behoves them to discriminate between truth and falsehood, and act accordingly. As regards my excessively distracted condition, God alone knows how they have represented it to the English Gentlemen, and, therefore, I have no remedy but to disclose it myself.

When the English killed Siraj-ud-Dowla, in retaliation for the destruction of (1) their factory, and installed Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan in his place, the latter having won their good graces by promising or offering to pay, in cash or kind, three crores of rupees (2), coined at Calcutta, possessed himself of all the wealth and treasures of Siraj-ud-Dowla and also made himself master of the whole country. It happened that Shah Alam invaded those lands. The *Mutasaddis* (clerks or accountants) of Bengal, habituated to misappropriate the things of others, deliberately created confusion, and, throwing the revenues in arrears, they subserved their own selfish purposes. Having kept the said Nawab and also the Christians in the dark as regards the total amount of Siraj-ud-Dowla's wealth, each one of them began to take it for himself like honey and milk. On account of the large increase in the military expenditure and his own extravagance, the said Nawab, who was totally devoid of ability and thrift, took upon himself the responsibility of paying three crores of rupees (3) as arrears due to the army, and forty lakhs as balance of the amount fixed up by the English. The soldiers bore patiently for 3 years but when they saw no other remedy, they all united and assembled before the palace, would not allow the Nawab to take his food and drink for 4 or 5 days, and began to abuse (4) him in unbecoming language.

When the English gentlemen saw the Nawab in such a sorry plight and began to apprehend something still worse, they told me that I should offer myself as a security for the arrears of the money. I had no remedy (5) but

(1) The capture of Kasimbazar Factory was followed by the plunder of Calcutta on June 20, 1756. M. R. B. 14.

(2) The treaty executed by Mir Jafar gives a different figure, V. N. 19-20. Mir Qasim, in another letter, found in V. N. III, 186, says that Mir Jafar became indebted for about 2 crores to his army, besides the debts owing to the Company.

(3) K. T. 85b. It is interesting to find that M. Kalyan Singh, the author of this work and almost a contemporary writer, not only gives the figure of 3 crores and 40 lakhs but supports practically the whole statement of Mir Qasim about the two Revolutions in Bengal in 1757, 1760. See also J. B. O. R. S., 1919-20.

(4) V. N. I, 35.

(5) It is significant that Mir Qasim makes no mention of his going to Calcutta and intriguing against his father-in-law, a fact found in S. M., R. S., M. N., & T. M. and even in K. T. 89a.

to intervene. Having taken out 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees from my own house (pocket) I paid the same to some men of the army, who had taken a leading part in the commotion, and having thus pacified them, caused them to raise the blockade of the Haveli. When the English gentlemen told Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan repeatedly that he should pay off the dues of the soldiers, for, it was at their instance that such and such a person, that is, I, had interfered in the affairs, and taken up the obligation of the Nawab, the latter paid no heed to their words, took the matter lightly and, in fact, ignored it altogether. At last when the soldiers saw that 3 or 4 months had passed by and nothing had been done towards the liquidation of their arrear pay, they inevitably approached me, and took me to the house (palace) of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. At the same time, from the other side the English too arrived there. Circumstances forced me to send a message (6) through the English to the Nawab that he should either pay up the dues of the soldiers or should place the rich Mutasaddis under my control so that I might realise the revenues due by means of blows and whips and pay up the salary of the soldiers and other dues. The same kind of questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, went on till 3 or 4 *pahars* of day (afternoon) and then the said Nawab sent one of his confidential servants with the message that he was ready to abandon the kingdom and proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, that I should do whatever I liked to manage the affairs and pay off the dues of the army and the money owing to the English from whatever source I could think of. Although I was not at all prepared to accept this suggestion, the English gentlemen succeeded by their excessive and earnest requests in throwing this unpleasant burden on my shoulders, and taking Nawab Mir Mahammad Jafar Khan along with them they left for Calcutta.

When the said Nawab saw that during a short time I had secured the tranquillity of my heart by paying off the importunate demands of the soldiers and the dues of the English, and had freed the country of all turbulent elements, his eyes were suddenly opened, especially when he was told about the existing situation and the (changed) state of the revenues of the kingdom. He was again seized with a desire to get back the subadari and (therefore) stirred up a hostility between me and the English. He (7) entered into a firm compact with those who were at Calcutta, and had arrived afresh from England as a result of changes and transfers of the members of the Council, which is a fixed rule among the English. It was thus that he caused a rupture between me and the English gentlemen. From this side Shuja-ud-

---

(6) According to K. T. 91b, it was at the suggestion of and not through the English, that such a message was sent.

(7) There is nothing unlikely in this statement, for which, however, we do not get any direct evidence. But Vansittart's observation is interesting in this connection. He was told that Col. Coots, Major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis had written against him to the Company; that they had sworn together to effect the restoration of Jfar Ali Khan; and that Mr. Fullerton had been despatched to England, to assist in the same design. V. N. III, 402.

Dowla (8) had advanced at the head of his army, towards the frontiers of Azimabad at the time Mr. Ellis made his night assault upon the fort (of Patna) when unexpectedly he heard of the defeat of the English and turned back. God and the Prophet know and will hear me out that the English people, without any justification, and against the advice (9) of Sham-sud-Dowla Bahadur (Mr. Vansistart) and Mr. Hastings, commenced the quarrel at the instigation of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. Moreover, although I wrote that now that the country had been cleaned of all thorns and rubbish and the dues of the English and the army had been paid off, the said Nawab was welcome (10) to the Subadaris and he should come and occupy it, the latter replied that I wanted to poison him to death or destroy him by some other methods. As regards the English they omitted all mention of these things and sent no reply at all. Ultimately they assaulted the fort of Azimabad and remained engaged in ravaging and plundering it and the city of Patna till three Pahars (in the afternoon) (11).

When the anxiety of the English became unmistakeable and public, I was compelled, in defence of my life and honour, and in order to draw out my family and dependents, to write to my Naib at Murshidabad and to other places that the English had unjustly shown hostility towards me and (therefore they should not allow access and egress to any individual amongst them. I also sent troops to passes and ferries, so that, till I went out beyond the frontiers of Bengal with my children and bag and baggage, they should engage the English in mock fights (Jang-i-zargari). As Mr. Amyatt, after permitting (12) the people of Azimabad factory to fight and deliver night assaults; had taken departure from me, it did not occur to me that 10 days (13) after he had set out for Calcutta he was still staying on the way to hear of the news of the victory at Azimabad. Despite this overt hostility he still wished to proceed towards Calcutta by passing through the crowd

---

(8) This is another entirely new information which lacks corroboration from other sources. There is ample evidence, however, of the ambitious designs of the Nawab-Vazir of Oudh on these rich provinces of Behar and Bengal. His eagerness to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal and Bihar a legacy from his father, his hatred for Mir Qasim and the ready excuse of regulating the affairs of the frontier regions which adjoined those of Bihar, suggest the probability of the event. Some of the letters in C. P. C. definitely state that he moved as far as Handia and Swajpur but when the news of the English victory at Udaynala reached him, he retired to Allahabad. I, 256.

(9) V. N. III, 253, 284, 387, 391 etc.

(10) The letters of Mir Qasim, available in C. P. C. & V. N. do not support this statement, though frequently, in fits of pique, he was ready to retire in favour of his alleged oppressors. V. N. I, 200.

(11) According to Karam Ali the men of Mr. Ellis after capturing the fort became intoxicated and began to plunder the city. M. N. 172a.

(12) The author of Siyar, a friend of Mr. Amyatt, practically confirms this. S. M. 725. It is 'the sordid and selfish majority' of the Council which really precipitated the struggle by giving Mr. Ellis a free hand in the matter of assault on the Patna citadel. M. C. I. See also T. M. O. K. T. about Mir Qasim's belief in such an instigation.

(13) 'Amyatt and his party left Mongher on June 24, provided with a passport granted by the Nawab'. They were murdered on July 3, 1763, at Murshidabad. M. Q. 217-18.

of my own people. He might have taken the route through Jhellangi (14) but he failed to do so. On account of the orders they have received they did not leave him. The people of Murshidabad also set up a blockade and began to plunder the factory.

When the English heard that their men had been thus defeated they did not ponder over the matter and without remonstrating with me, they suddenly restored and reinstated Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan as the Subadar of Bengal and also fell upon me during the rainy season. I wrote to Major Adams who was coming at the head of the English army that his fellow men were alive (15) and they would be made over to some one whom he might send for the purpose. The Major replied that it did not matter much whether those men were dead or alive but that I must (16) get out of the kingdom and in case I failed to do so he would not let me off.

When the letter of Major Adams reached me I had no remedy but to lay it before the chiefs of my army and ask them as to what they deemed advisable in the matter. All my Sardars (17), having become despaired of the friendship of the English, replied:—"A battle appears to be inevitable whether you wish it or not, and the fire of hostility has no chance of being extinguished. We, men of Hindustan, are not expert in fighting with fire, guns and cannon. By the grace of God we have made these people captive after risking our lives. You want to show your friendship by liberating them and again you will send us to the mouth of their cannon. What should we live for when there is no hope of peace and restoration of friendship?" Much as they entreated them they would not listen to my suggestions. In reply they said that one Englishman was equal to one thousand Indians in courage and in the effective use of artillery and that it was difficult to get the better of them in an engagement and (therefore) they would not allow them to remain alive. Accordingly Sumru, the chief of the Tellingas, killed each one of them.

When the men of my army saw that the fighting with the English had proved a costly one they deemed it prudent to take me to Shuja-ud-Dowla after entering into a solemn agreement with him. But they subsequently

(14) Jhellangi is the name of a river which is really a part of river Padma.

(15) This is not true though in the letter, which is fortunately available to us (C. P. C. I, p. 239), he disclaimed all responsibility for the killing of Mr. Amyatt, he threatened Major Adams to "cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of the English chiefs and send them to him".

(16) Here again we meet with a wrong statement. The Major wrote "... You have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment". (M. N. III, 374.)

(17) The author of the Siyar, and Mir Qasim's best friend, Ali Ibrahim Khan were, however, opposed to this highly impolitic step, and the latter actually interceded on behalf of the English prisoners and solicited their release. S. M. 738. Dr. Fullerton was saved because of their influence.



struck (18) a bargain with him and involved me into an unfortunate situation, for shortly afterwards Shuja-ud-Dowla became an ally of the English.

I, who had made a world of men hostile to myself by refraining from showing concession or favour to any one, and who never intrigued with any person, actually involved myself in moil and toil, during night and day, and by the grace of God regulated the confused and disturbed affairs of that country within a short time. I had been counting upon the support and friendship of the English gentlemen thinking that they appreciate merit, exercise forethought, and are wisdom personified and (therefore) they would recognise the just claims of their well-wishers. How the affairs were confused and entangled is quite evident on one side there was the inexorable demand for the arrear pay of the soldiers, amounting to not less than three crores of rupees, and there was also the balance of the money due to the Company. How had the soldiers behaved themselves towards the deceased Nawab, Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. If I, the ignorant one, had not taken up the heavy burden on my shoulders, circumstances might have been different. Being forced by necessity, and keeping in view the honour of the parties concerned, and giving way before the request and solicitations of the English I undertook the task of lifting the veil off (exposing) those in power. Having ruined the whole of my house and taking what happened to be the will of God, I resigned myself to my lot. Now that it is twelve years (19) since I left the place of my nativity, which had been the residence of my family for a century, to the English and have chosen the life of a wandering exile, I thought that the English in whose character equity and justice are inherent would not deviate from the paths of right nor withhold their appreciation of merits. Being happy and contented with such an idea I am passing the nights and days of my borrowed life in continuous prayer to God and in remembering the friendship of the English and solemnly declare that I have no futile plan (20) nor evil design even in my imagination. Till now, wherever I happen to go, I am continually engaged in repeating the praises of the English while they, on their part, are always after doing harm to me, the resourceless and helpless one. I do venture to hope from the old friendship of the English that they would not ignore the services of this sinner through the representation of malicious and interested agitators and the pondering a little in their pure heart over it they would not shut their eyes to the demands of justice and equity.

Gentlemen, if at the first instance you had not entered into an agreement with regard to the three Mahals of Maidnepur, Burdwan and

---

(18) This is applicable at least to Sumru who mutinied against his master and took service under Shuja-ud-Dowla. S. M. 755.

(19) The letter, addressed by Mir Qasim to Col. Stibbert, in April 1776, also speaks of this period of 12 years. (P. I. H. R. C. X.)

(20) An idea of such pains and designs may be had from the numerous letters in the C. P. C. and also from two papers, one in P. I. H. R. C. and another in *Calcutta Review*, May, 1935. By 1776, however, the ex-Nawab of Bengal may have realised the futility of such things.

Chatgaon (21), and kept into your consideration the performance of this sinner nothing would have been neglected or omitted or even occurred, except what is the way of submission and service. The fact is that truth and straightfrowardness are innate to us and I am not familiar with fraud and betrayal. I did not withhold, like Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan, such trifling things as stone, clay, wood (22) and limes nor did I demand back the Chaklas of Burdwan. I also did not invite the Dutch through the Bugoss tribe (of Malaya) to fight against the English. On the other hand, I paid off all the arrears of the Company which were due from the Nawab, in accordance with the promises made. Whatever happened on my part was due to my helplessness and powerlessness. The power-seeking soldiery of Hindustan gets out of control at the slightest disturbance, a fact which is evident from the timely information I always gave about it. I hope that all the letters written by me, your friend, may have been preserved, both in originals and their copies, amongst the documents of the Council.

You know that even since I assumed authority over that kingdom, some English gentlemen commenced quarrel of their own accord and began discussion in such a manner as goes directly against the decorum of friendship. They supported and protected (23) those who had been in the habit of safeguarding and gulping down their throat the whole revenue and income of that kingdom. And such men were subject to my jurisdiction. However, despite these ups and downs and impossible situation I put off the trouble till two years and half, thanks to the equitable disposition of some of the English gentlemen.

If the English gentlemen had sent their mind on the absorption of the land, why did they allow so many lives to be lost? I had repeatedly entreated and written to the gentlemen of that time that if they were resolved upon displacing me, the weak one, instead of giving a bad name to their friend, they were quite welcome to entrust the charge of that kingdom which had been freed from my chiefs and disturbance, into the hands of any one whom they deemed to be more trustworthy. I was also prepared to bring together all the papers of the kingdom which I had set right, and then by making them over to anyone who was suggested for the purpose. I should

---

(21) In a letter addressed to the Company, dated April 21, 1763, Mir Qasim writes "exclusive of the ready money, offices, lands and the farm of saltpetre given by the Nabob Mir Jafar Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty lacs of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company; that they might collect the rents as they pleased . . . and when called upon afford me assistance". V. N. III., 189.

(22) Mir Jafar, in a letter to the Board, dated Sept. 14, 1764, called upon the English to abandon the wood farm belonging to Purneah paying a tribute of 50,000 rupees (C. P. C. 337). Mir Qasim says in two of his letters that the English could not get even ten or twenty timbers from Chuttagong to build their houses with 'even so recently as the time of Mir Jafar' (C. P. C. I, 203).

(23) Obviously the ex-Nawab refers to person like Raya Ram Narain and others. It is interesting to find Gholam Husain quoting Mr. Amyatt, who confessed that he had no love for the said Raja but supported him because of his opposition to Vansitart and his nominee, Mir Qasim. S. M. 706.

clean my hands off everything regarding the settlement of friendly accounts. The English gentlemen, however, did not accept my suggestion. Ultimately matters reached their limits, so much so that, on one side, the Naibs and Amils were put in chains and fetters and were struck down, and on the other, they commenced night assault (24) and lifting the veil of unity and concord, they wanted to deal with me, the weak one, openly. Feeling helpless, and being driven by necessity to safeguard my life and honour I gave up the idea of staying in that kingdom and wrote to Major Adams, who had taken the command of the army and arrived so far as Nala Udhva, apologizing and signifying my readiness to transfer the custody of Mr. Ellis and others. The Major replied in a strain which was improper and unworthy of a chief like him, saying that there were many English men in his country and that he cared a jot about my captives whom I might treat as I liked.

As regards the Nawab who had developed a bad feeling towards me because of his anxiety to please the English, he wrote to each one of my chiefs through Ibrahim (25) Ali Khan and Sulaiman (26) inducing and tempting them to devise some means whereby the Englishmen who had been captured should be all put to death so that the path of compromise with the English might be closed. On the other side, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla had sent a Ferman (27) of King Shah Alam, bearing his auspicious seal, exhorting the writer to kill the English wherever they were found. The copy of the Ferman under the seal of the Qazi(?) is sent herewith. The copies of the letters between me and Major Adams will be found in the records office of the Council and also of those of correspondence exchanged (28) secretly with the deceased Nawab (Mir Jafar) through Sulaiman and Shitab Rai. On Gurgin Khan being killed on one of those days, the Command of the Tellingas fell into the hands of Samru. The man, who was false to the salt that he ate finding himself placed in power,

(24) Mir Qasim in a letter, dated 28 June, 1763 writes "like a night robber Mr. Ellis assaulted the Kila of Patna; robbed and plundered the Bazar and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from morning to the third Pahar" U. N. III, 330. Vansittart has the frankness to admit that we were the aggressors by the assault of the city of Patna will not be disputed". V. N. III, 387.

(25) Besides the lack of any corroborative evidence for this charges, the fact is well established that if Mir Qasim had any really sincere and wise friend and counsellor, it was Ali Ibrahim Khan who "clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days".

(26) This man, the High Steward of Mir Qasim, who escorted his master's family and treasures to Rohtas (KT) and who was sent to King and the Wazir to procure their assurance of protection in 1763 (C. P. C. I, 295) ultimately deserted the ex-Nawab and joined Shuja-ud-Dowla (S. M. 7, 58).

(27) This is a startling statement. It is unfortunate that all trace of such a Firman, if it existed at all, is lost.

(28) We have got proofs of the intrigues carried on against Mir Qasim at the court of the King and Shuja-ud-Dowla by Mr. Ellis and Major Carnac through Raja Shitab Rai and his son Kalyan Singh. V. N. III, 400-01; C. P. C. I, 256; K.T. gives a detailed account of the secret transaction. See also J. B. O. R. S.

retired into an agreement with the faithless Sulaiman. This Perfidious (29) Sulaiman had been in collusion and secret communication with the deceased Nawab and Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla. The accursed Samru was not such a functionary as not to think that if the good feelings between me and the English were to be restored I(?) would come into possession of so much money and effects and would no longer remain under his influence and, therefore, it was better that the English should be put to death so that he might himself become the owner of the fire guns and artillery.

In short, first the faithless Sulaiman and then Ibrahim Ali Khan became the vanguard in the ruination of my house. Having seduced a whole world of men and made them subject to their wishes, they destroyed everything which belonged to me and having settled their own business they followed their respective paths.

When the reply of Major Adams proved to be absolutely disappointing and I found no other remedy from any quarter I assumed silence. The ungrateful and perfidious Samru, having made the Ferman of Shah Alam as his Charter of authority killed the English prisoners in order to create disturbance and disorder, and having instigated and taken me to Shuja-ud-Dowla, he caused the lesolation an ruination of my whole house.

It is evident to everybody that I committed no fault in any way and that all these mischiefs and disturbances had been raised by the faithless Sulaiman and Ibrahim Ali Khan. These disloyal men guided up their loins of malice, without any justification, in order to oppress me. What unworthy (30) action they were not guilty of in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla. They were not wanting even in shedding blood. A little of such things is apparent from the fact that one day while I was in the camp of the said Nawab (Shuja-ud-Dowla), poisoned grapes wer served before me through Ali Beg (31) Khan Kharji. As the bringer of the grapes had been an old man of family, he whispered to my ears that they should not be taken. The news of this having reached Ali Beg Khan, the latter killed the poor fellow and hacked him to pieces. It was through the entreaties and solicitations of Khaja Pedros (Petrus) and Gurgin Khan, extending over a year, that the department of the household\* expenses (house stewardship) (32) had been allotted to that detestable and ungrateful wretch. In fact the two wicked men inveigled and won over all the subordinate officers. Sulaiman carried the money and effects to Rohtas (33) and making Ibrahim Ali Khan his inspiring genius left him near me. There he practically killed the poor Raja Naubat

(29) His perfidy was discovered when it was too late. But there is yet no proof of his collusion with Mir Jafar.

(30) The ex-Nawab certainly met with insults and indignities in the Camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla but at least Ali Ibrahim Khan's behaviour was above suspicion. (S. M.)

(31) An officer of the Wazir and a channel of communication with Mir Jafar and the English (C. P. C.). According to Karam Ali Beg Khan Kharji was put in charge of the fort of Allahabad but he surrendered it to Raja Shitab Rai. M. N. 146C.

(32) This is a new information.

(33) K. T., J. B. O. R. S., S. M. 733-734.

Rai (34) by inducing him to take a medicine which was a preparation of iron, as a cure for cough and asthma. Thereafter, the Keeper of the Jewel-office was put on a pony with all the documents pertaining to the treasury, and he was thus made to effect his escape. Habibullah Khan, the Cash-keeper, was also poisoned to death by some means. Having kept him confined within the mansion of the store-room and jewel office for a whole day and night, 17 small bags (35) of jewels which were sealed with gum lac were opened with fire being applied to the sealing wax. The choicest jewels were picked out and precious goods and rare articles were taken up, loaded on 3 elephants and taken to Benares one month before my arrival there. God is my witness that I have not deviated a hairbreadth from truth. You may investigate into the truth in any way you please. Granted that the faithless Sulaiman shows the receipt of Sandal Ali Khan, the eunuch, but even this is a proof positive of his fraud. Why did he make over such costly riches to the eunuch without my permission?

Ibrahim Ali Khan need to intrigue and keep up correspondence through Mirza Abu Mohammad, Son-in-law of Mirza Iraj Khan (36). Sometimes letters were sent through Mirza Abu Mohammad to Ibrahim Ali Khan (37) and the faithless Sulaiman and sometimes it was done through Mohammad Niamat, the bearer of the pen case, who used to come to my camp in the guise of a fakir. All those devices and plans were hatched for the sake of the son (38) of a dancing girl who had been taken into his (Mir Jafar's) harem without *Nikah* or even *Motah* (39). The late Nawab was devoid of all sense of justice and equity, and being lost in the sleep of negligence, he felt no concern with the world and its vicissitudes except as a spectator. If I had possessed in him (40) an elderly appreciative relation, I would not have been reduced to such straits.

The execution of Raj Ballabh (41), Ram Narain and others, was due to the advice of Gurgin Khan but that of Jagat Seth and Maharaja Sawrup

---

(34) He was the trusted Diwan of Mir Qasim who also made him Naib of Patna for a short time. It was under his escort and that of Mir Sulaiman that the Nawab sent his family and treasures to Rohtas (Ibid).

(35) The details are nowhere to be found and appear to be very interesting. The author of the *seyar*, however, speaks of the perfidious embezzlement of the Nawab's Jewels by Sulaiman. S. M. 744.

(36) This man was the father-in-law of Siraj-ud-Dowla and a friend and supporter of his overthrowers, the English and Mir Jafar. He was certainly hostile to Mir Qasim and was appointed Naib of Murshidabad after the overthrow of the latter.

(37) These informations, if true, will lead us to revise our opinion about some of the personalities and the events of the period.

(38) This obviously refers to the illegitimate son of Mir Jafar who actually succeeded him because of the death of Meeran.

(39) Temporary marriage according to Shia law.

(40) Mir Jafar refused to accept him as his Naib, as proposed by Vansittart and he was always mistrustful of his son-in-law.

(41) The following remark of Kalyan Singh is worth our notice "Being revengeful and suspicious in the extreme, he (Mir Qasim) resolved to put the Indians to death. But in spite of the suggestion of Gurgin Khan, Englishmen who were kept in custody, were

Chand was at my instance and orders. The reason is that one day they came to me and offered me a note of hand or cheque for 25 lakh of rupees (42) as a profit of the income of the Mahals or Sarkar by way of present. I tore that note into pieces and said:—"I have nothing to do with it. The only thing I want is that you should live in concord and amity and avoid enkindling the fire of enmity between me and the English, nay extinguish it if it brake out. The moment I leave these climes they (the English) would not let me alive, so that I may wander from one region to another and they (the Seth) "might enjoy and take rest in their Aish Mahal and Jawahir Mahal". When several of their letters (43) were intercepted and a sum of rupees 20 lakhs, sent to Mir Raushan (44) Ali Khan for killing me, was discovered, I had no alternative but to issue orders for their execution. If both these men had not been killed it would have been very difficult for me to escape alive from that place. Even a span of ground was not left where they did not lay thorns for me. As my borrowed life had not yet come to a close, fate led me to despatch to the hells these two wretches who had destroyed a world and whose cunning manoeuvre and intrigues had caused the death of so many subahdars (45).

What causes surprise to me is that that although by the grace of God I sent to the hells so many traitorous usurpers and fomenters of strife and although I removed the rubbish and thorns of that kingdom to win the good will and for the sake of the English gentlemen of equitable disposition, the latter have proclaimed their friend to be a 'tyrant' while they never used such a term in the case of Nawab Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan who had shed innocent blood under their direct protection. If Siraj-ud-Dowla and his brothers have to be left out of consideration, for they were opponents and rival claimants, what for did the English tolerate the murder of those who had committed no fault? The poor Fakhrut-Tujjar (46) was no better than a merchant and had not the ghost of a claim to sovereignty. What fault did he commit that he was killed? Further, why were some women (47),

---

left unmolested as a precautionary measure". (K. T., J. B. O. R. S.). The complicity of Gurgin Khan is also borne out by Seyar. "Gurgin Khan advised speed in the matter of their execution too". S. M. 734.

(42) This is also quite a new information.

(43) The author of Reyaz confirms this when he speaks of Jagat Seth as "the plotter of the treacherous conspiracy" and as one who had sent out secret message inviting Jafar Ali Khan and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. R. S. 396.

(44) He was one of the Commander of Mir Qasim (C. P. C. I, 262).

(45) History is quite full with the prominent part played by the members of the Seth family almost in all the revolutions of Bengal in the 18th Century.

(46) Khaja Wajid, was so called because of his great mercantile business. At one time a friend of the English, he later became one of their inveterate foes. Karam Ali supports Holwell in that it was Fakhrut-Tujjar who advised and actually conducted negotiations with the Dutch of Batavia in 1758. We also read about the confinement of Fakhrut-Tujjar at Calcutta and his death at Hugli. (M. N. 11a; V. N. I, 50.)

(47) This refers to the diabolical murder of the daughters of Alivardi at the instance of Meeran in 1758 (S. M. 689).



who had no capacity to do this thing and that, so ignominiously drowned to death? Again, Mir Mohammad Kazim Khan (48), who was a genuine Syed and one of his own community, was also not spared ; so also is the case of Shaikh Abdul Wahab Khan (49) and others. Similarly if you do desire, I can prepare a regular list of names and send it to you. As for myself, I should really feel repentent if I had killed any one without sufficient caution and evidence, in accordance with the Koranic injunctions. Gentlemen! As regards those who were actually executed (50) at my orders, I risked my bad reputation only for the sake of the English. Having purged that kingdom of all thorns and rubbish to win the good will of the English I quitted the land.

You might have heard of the situation in which Colonel Clive, Sabit Jung, found himself, when Raja Ram Narain took him to Bhojpur. What did he accomplish before he left? Having brought him to a hillock, known as Makraikoh, he caused 200 pieces (51) of fire locks to be carried away by thieves, and having exposed him to the inconveniences of the hot weather for one and a half month he spoilt the powder and ammunition of the English. And then he looked afflicted and disappointed. Every one of the traitor used to laugh at the English when I lifted the veil off the whole affair.

It is the usage of the world that whoever gains name and fame and acquires wealth and affluence, he does so for the sake of his children and family and for his own bodily comfort, otherwise such wealth full of misery evils is of no use (52). Would that I, a weak ant that I am, had known that the English Gentlemen would throw the whole blame of that kingdom on my shoulders and after the regulation of the confused affairs of that land, they would not consider my friendship as a mirror of purity and sincerity, but leave all the disorder and calamity for me, the weak one, and after driving me from the kingdom, they would render me an exile from my own home, as if of all the small and the big, young and the elderly of that land they could fix their choice upon me alone, the unworthy one, only to fling me aside like flies in the honeyed milk!

As regards the pillars of state of that place, every one of them, though laying claim to wisdom and talents for accounts, has been really working (53) on the plans laid down and devised by me, the ignorant one. Why did those skilful functionaries of the age who were expert in everything, that is Rajballabh, Raja Dullabh Ram, Raja Ram Narain, Ray-i-Rayan, Jagat Seths

(48) S. M. 652. V. N. 152.

(49) V. N. I, 152.

(50) A brief list is available in M. N. 163b.

(51) This is another instance of a new and, perhaps, an exaggerated and distorted version of Clive's expedition against the Rajputs and 'hilly chiefs of Shahabad' in 1759. There is nothing improbable, however, in Bhojpuris stealing the guns and Clive conveniently ignoring the incident in his Memoirs. (M. C. I.)

(52) The Persian text here is rather vague.

(53) This is too bold a claim to be accepted though the financial and administrative abilities of Mir Qasim have been testified to by even his enemies.

etc., who had been the centres of affairs during the regime of Mahabat Jung and Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan and who, with the connivance of Ray-i-Rayan, used to swallow down their throat half of the collection of that kingdom, so that all their wealth was derived from the Sarkars of the Nazims of those lands,—why did such people not anticipate and excel me, the unworthy one, and why did they not show their talents in accounts and establish their reputation for business ability and skill? After the kingdom had been purified of all thorns and rubbish and the corrupt emezzlers had been exposed, they beat the drum of their financial ability by taking their stand upon the assessment and collection of revenue fixed up by me.

I, the sinner, had been brought forward only for the purpose of diminishing hostility of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan which had caused a disturbance in the affairs of the Company. The late Nawab on finding himself installed in the kingdom through the recommendation (54) and command of the English gentlemen, spoilt his comforts and contrived to displace the English from power. He demanded back Burdwan which he had ceded for 1 crore of rupees and he used to grant dastaks for lime, timber (55) and forests with a rueful face and by a hesitating hand. Moreover, he had summoned the Dutch through the Bugoss (56) tribe and he was always planning (57) that the English should have no power to keep the kingdom under their control, and their influence should be gradually wiped out. On the other hand, I, the weak one, organized such a military force only to protect my life and honour and had never intrigued with the Dutch, the French or the Deccanis (Marhattas) and was never busy in planning for the expulsion of the English. Rather, I was always their protector and supporter as far as I could and whatever promise I made I duly fulfilled it and was never guilty of breach of faith. When hostilities were committed and repeated by the English I had no remedy but to get out of the kingdom. I escaped slowly and in the rainy season to one of my compatriots.

Whatever happened from my side was due to my helplessness and want of any other remedy for I had lost all comfort over my disloyal army. Still I had informed Major Adams of my helpless condition and remonstrated much with my turbulent and noisy people and hesitated (58) in giving orders

---

(54) It is practically the English who secured firman and sanads for their nominees whom they supported by their arms and diplomacy.

(55) Vide above.

(56) M. N. 141a. "The Bukkas Warrior resident in the kingdom of Pegu."

(57) Mir Jafar was certainly growing restive under the thralldom of the English. He gave vent to his inner feeling when he openly regretted the defeat of the Wazir at Buxar as the last blow to the honour and reputation of the Indians. See also the Introduction to Vol. III of C. P. C. p. IXn.

(58) As already remarked above. Mir Qasim had at first gone so far as to disregard the evil advice of Gurgin Khan to murder the English prisoners. If the situation had been handled tactfully, perhaps, the worst might not have happened. The version in Seyer that the councillors at Calcutta wrote that if Mir Qasim were to kill even hundred of such persons, they would not think of anything but revenge for Amiyatt's murder is supported by the proceedings of the Consultation and also by what Vansittart wrote to

for the execution of the English prisoners. When the letter of Major Adams, and the Ferman of Shah Alam and the secret letters of the late Nawab reached the hands of the erroneous, rebellious pople they pressed me and did what they deemed advisable for their own selfish ends (59) and thus threw the blame for the blood of the English on me, the sinner.

Let the English gentlemen of just and equitable disposition weigh the whole thing and render justice, for, I, the sinner, never killed treacherously any one during the days of my authority and power, by deluding him with false words and pledges. When thousands of people including Muslims, on both sides, fell dead, during this domestic struggle, how can the claim for the blood be put forward by any one party? If you forgive and draw the pen of pardon (across the past) it can not but enhance your reputation for Magnanimity. The pleasure felt in forgiveness is absent in retaliation. However, you are the master of your will. I have no other desire except to pacify the English gentlemen and purify their mind of ill-will. If you put me in possession of a small thing in the shape of a jagir or land in Aima (fiefs) dwelling houses, gardens, and a burial place, I shall deem it to be a great favour. I shall send one of my children (60) from here to the English gentlemen so that he may always remain in thier presence and receive his education under their supervision. If I feel composed and collected in my mind and am at ease I shall myself seek the honour of an interview with the English gentlemen and derive benefits from them. If you do not approve of it, I shall have to give up all hopes, and shall act in accordance with the saying 'Fly to God'. God's kingdom is not narrow and circumscribed and and my legs are also not lame."

S. H. ASKARI.

---

the Nawab on Sept. 17, 1763. "The honour of our nation and the interest of our Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration nor the operation of our army stopped". But Vansittart was helpless. (S. M. 729; V. N. III, 371.)

(59) Mir Qasim writes in another letter quoted in C. R., May, 1935. "He had lost all control over his army. A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to join Mir Jafar, Sumru, the German who was appointed to the command of the army after Gurgin Khan, contrived with Mir Mahommad Jafar about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an unsuperable barrier between him and the English."

(60) This was a sincere gesture of good will which unfortunately appears to have remained unheeded. Mir Qasim died penniless on the 7th June, 1777 in the city of Delhi. He could be buried only when the King sent Rs. 200/- for the purpose (K. T. 137). As regards his 7 sons, they were presented by Ali Ibrahim Khan to Governor W. Hastings, who fixed some allowance for each one of them and allowed them to reside at Benares. Their descendants are still found in that sacred city in a rather abject condition.

# The Resident at the Durbar (Moorshedabad)

## His Position and Functions (1765-1772)

---

THE object of this paper (1) is to describe the position and functions of the East India Company's Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Bengal at Moorshedabad, as these were chiefly during the period from 1765 to 1772. This officer was always referred to in contemporary official documents of the Company as "the Resident at the Durbar". His office was one of the most important and onerous ones in the service of the Company in the early days of British Rule in Bengal. It was even regarded by some as "inferior only to that of the President" of Fort William. (2) Both the Treaty of 10th July, 1763, with Meer Jaffier (3) and the Treaty which the Nawab Nudjum Ul Dowla (4) executed on 25th February, 1765, provided for the appointment of "an English gentleman" to reside with the Nawab, wherever the latter might be, for the transaction of all affairs between the Nawab and the Company. Even before 1763 a Resident would be appointed in the Nawab's Court. Thus Warren Hastings was once appointed Resident at the Durbar "in the room of Mr. Scrafton" in 1758 ; (5) and referring to the arduous and varied nature of

---

(1) This paper is based mainly upon manuscript records, in most cases hitherto unpublished, in the Imperial Record Office of the Government of India.

For instance, in a letter to the Governor and Council at Fort William, "dated Emeer Cawn's, the 6th December 1768", Colonel Richard Smith said :

"The Residency at the Durbar, upon its present system, is most undoubtedly the Post of so much Importance on the Civil Establishment, as to be inferior only to that of the President".—See Home Department (Fort Wm.). O.C. No. 7, 28th December, 1768.

(2) We also find in paragraph 97 of the General Letter to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 2nd February, 1769, that the Council (at Fort William) had even appointed once a Deputy-Resident at the Durbar with a view to relieving the Resident of a part of his heavy duties. The paragraph says :—

"As we were also of opinion that a Deputy Resident would be of essential service to your affairs and would greatly contribute to the Relief of the Resident in the Duties of his laborious Employment—and as the Knowledge Mr. Robert Maddison has acquired of the Persian Language in which most of the Dewany accounts are kept and the manner of transacting Business with the Natives will afford him an opportunity of being more serviceable to you in this station than his present one we have appointed him to it".

(3) Meer Jafar.

(4) Najm-ud-Daula.

(5) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 1841, Vol. I, pp. 54-55.

his duties one (6) of his biographers has said that he "collected, with infinite difficulty, a considerable portion of the outstanding balances that were due from Meer Jaffier to the Company ; he put down, by the exercise of a sound discretion, more than one tumult in the city ; he conducted many delicate negotiations both with the Nabob and his great officers of state, so as to call for the warm approbation of the Council, etc." (7) Indeed, the Resident was the "sole agent" of the Company for transacting all its business at the Durbar. And he had there, as Mr. Verelst (8) once said in 1768 in another connexion, (9) "an opportunity of discovering the Tempers, the Dispositions, and the particular characters not only of the Nabob and of his ministry, but even of every person of any note or consideration in this kingdom" ; and would, because of his position, be "either engaged in, or . . . privy to all political Transactions" in the Nawab's Court. In view of the importance of his office, the Court of Directors has written (10) to the Governor and Council on 24th December, 1765, that if it was really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar then they must "choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an established Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language". (11) And in a previous letter (12) the Court had written to the President and Council :—

"It is always necessary that a Civil Servant of Rank should reside on the Company's behalf at the Durbar, agreeable to the Treaty with the present Nabob. In this appointment the abilities and Qualifications of the Person

(6) The Rev. G. R. Gleig.

(7) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, p. 52.

(8) Governor and President of Bengal from after the departure of Clive in January, 1767, till December, 1769. Mr. Verelst "resigned the government of Bengal, December 24th, 1769". See Verelst, *A View of the Rise, etc. of the English Government in Bengal*, App. p. 120, footnote.

(9) In connexion with the question whether the second member of the Council at Fort William should remain at the Presidency or be permitted to fill any vacancy that might occur elsewhere. See Home Department (Fort William) O.C. No. 9, dated 28th Dec. 1768.

(10) See the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.

(11) This is what the Court of Directors wrote in this connexion :—

"Whenever you think it really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar, we direct you to choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an established Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language. We understand he is to be the sole agent for transacting all Business at the Durbar, and direct the copy of his correspondence with the Nabob or his officers, with the Presidency and chiefs of the subordinates, officers of the army or Civil Servants on public affairs be transmitted to us annually in Duplicate . . . as we leave the nomination of this officer to you, it behoves you to have a constant Eye to his Behaviour, as we shall deem you in a particular manner responsible to us for his conduct".—See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, Dated 24th December, 1765, para. 64. Also see the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(12) See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 15th February, 1765, para. 69.

should be chiefly regarded, and we suppose you had these in view in the choice of our present Resident Mr. Watts" (13)

The varied nature of the duties of the Resident would be evident from the following extracts from the instructions which the President and Council at Fort William issued to him on 29th May and 13th December, 1764. On 29th May, 1764, they wrote (14) to Mr. Batson who had been "appointed to attend constantly at the Nabob's Court":

"As the constant attention Major Carnac is at present obliged to pay to the motions of the Enemy and the operations of our own army may prevent him from obtaining and sending us the necessary information of what passes at the Nabob's Court, we have thought proper to appoint you resident at the Durbar. We direct therefore that you enter upon this office immediately on receipt hereof *transmitting to us daily advice of every thing that occurs.* (15)

"By the enclosed copies of some Letters which have passed between the Nabob and Suja Dowla, Beny Bahadre and others You'll perceive that Terms have been proposed for a negociation but we have yet heard nothing on this subject from the Major—We must desire you will inform yourself as far as you can discover, what may be the Nabob's motives and views in such a scheme, and what steps have been taken in it—For our own part we are resolved to enter into no Treaty with Shuja Dowla unless Meer Cossim, Sombre and our Deserters be first put into our hands as a preliminary. You will therefore acquaint the Nabob that this is Our Resolution assuring him we will accede to no Treaty he may make on any other Terms . . .

"We have only further to recommend to you *the greatest vigilance and attention* and to desire that you will be particularly careful in conducting yourself towards the Nabob, in order to preserve as great a confidence as possible between his and our Governments".

And in their letter to Mr. Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William 13th December, 1764, the President and Council wrote (16):—

"The Nabob having set out for Moorshedabad you will agreeably to your appointment proceed thither, attend him as Resident at his Durbar—*In this Capacity you must in General keep us constantly advised of all such material Transactions, & occurrences, as may come to your knowledge, being for that purpose extremely vigilant & attentive,* (17) and make to the Nabob from

(13) It may be noted here that the Resident at the Durbar was appointed by the President and Council at Fort Wm. But sometimes, as in the case of the appointment of Mr. Francis Sykes as Resident at the Durbar, the Select Committee at Fort William would take the initiative in the matter and make recommendation therefor to the Council (at Fort William).—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, of 5th October, 1765, and 4th January, 1769.

(14) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 29th May, 1764.

(15) The italics are ours.

(16) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 13th December, 1764; also Secret Letter to Court dated at Fort William 6th February, 1765.

(17) The italics are ours.



time to time such Representations from us as you may be instructed—The principal objects of your attention at present are the following—

“The procuring regular payment of the five Laaks per month granted by the Nabob towards defraying the Expences of the War with Shuja Dowla agreeably to the writing (18) passed by him the Nabob while he was here and you will find him of course at Moorshedabad desirous of putting a speedy period to the Continuance of this monthly payment ; He even thought the Defeat of the Vizier at Buxar should have been this period ; He is well acquainted with our sentiments on this subject, and that We mean not to exact such assistance from him longer that the War subjects us to so heavy an Expense, and as soon as we can reduce this with Propriety & Prudence in Respect to the Safety of our Possession, We shall think it but just to relieve him also, agreeably to the Tenor of his Grant. In the meantime, & till you have other Directions from us, you will continue to press these Payments in the strongest Terms, causing the Amount of the Tuncaw on the naib at Moorshedabad to pass as hitherto through the Hands of the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar who will account with us for the same. The second point which you have now to attend to, is the Nabob's compliance with the terms of the Kistbundee (19) which he has executed for payment of the money for the Restitution Fund . . . .

(18) Reference here is to the Nawab Meer Jaffier's "Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month for the Expenses of the Army", dated 16th September, 1764. According to this note the Nawab agreed to pay to the Company five lakhs of rupees every month "for the expenses of the Europeans and Sepoys, the Artillery, and raising of the Cavalry", "from the beginning of the month Sophar (31st July 1764) of the 5th year of the reign till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier". See Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, Etc.* 4th Edition, 1909.

(19) Reference here is to 'the Kistbundee executed by the Nabob (Meer Jaffier) agreeably to the Company's "Desire for the payment of the Restitution for the Merchants Lossess" during its troubles with Meer Cossim. We find in the Proceedings of a meeting of the Council (at Fort William) in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on Thursday, 6th December, 1764, the following translation of the Nawab's "note for the payment of 48 Laaks of Rupees Restitution money" :—

"Regulation of the payments of the money plundered by Meer Cossim from the English Merchants etc. in the provinces of Bengal & Bahar which shall be made from the Beginning of the month of Cartic in the Bengal year 1171 to the End of the Bengal year 1172 according to the Particulars following :—

In the Bengal year (1171)	...	...	...	...	28,00,000
To the End of Augun ...	...	...	...	...	20,00,000
In the month of Maug ...	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
In the month of Faugun ...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
In the Bengal year 1172 ...	...	...	...	...	20,00,000
In the month of Sawun (middle of July to the middle of August) ...	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
In the month of Ausin ...	...	...	...	...	7,00,000
In the month of Poos ...	...	...	...	...	8,00,000
Total ...					48,00,000

See Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, of 21st November and 6th December, 1764; also the Nawab Meer Jaffier's Treaty (article 10) with the Company, dated 10th July, 1763.

"You will moreover endeavour as soon as possible to procure and transmit us an exact state of the Nabob's Revenues & of the Expences of his Government, also an Account of the number of Troops he keeps up. And you will make it your particular study, to promote in every respect a good Harmony & understanding between us & him.

"We have further to mention to you that we have Reason to think that some persons about the Nabob are endeavouring to prejudice in his opinion Mahomed Reza Cawn the present Naib of Decca ; As this man came into the assistance of ours & the Nabob's Affairs at a critical Juncture, the commencement of the War with Cossim Aly Cawn, & chiefly by our solicitation, tho' with the Nabob's also who in Consequence appointed him to the said naibut, & as he was always shewn himself attached to our Interest, it is becoming & reputable to us to afford him all possible support & Countenance. We accordingly in our visit to take Leave of the Nabob recommended him particularly to his Favor, & as he is now at Moorshedabad for the Adjustment of his Accounts, you will if necessary remind his Excellency of this our Interposition in his Behalf, confirming it in the strongest terms, & further immediately represent to him how absolutely necessary it is to dispatch him to Dacca for the collection of the Revenues in that part.

"You are to regulate your own by the motions of the Nabob, as you are to attend his Durbar wheresoever he may remove to :—We could wish however he may remain for some time at least at Moorshedabad to settle the Collections & Accounts of the several provinces, which as you see occasion you will accordingly represent to him the necessity of.

"We have advised the Gentlement of the Cossimbazar Factory of your Appointment & directed them on all occasions to make their Applications through you to the Nabob & to make you also the necessary Advances for your Expences".

On the acquisition by the Company of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12th August, 1765, the importance of the office of Resident at the Durbar greatly increased with the increase in its duties and responsibilities consequent thereupon. As a result of this acquisition, its Treaty (20) with the Nawab of Bengal (Najm-ud-Daula), and its Agreement (21) with the latter under which he consented "to accept of the annual sum of Secca Rupees 5386131-9, as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut", the

(20) Executed by the President and Council of Fort William on 20th February, 1765, and by the Nawab of Bengal on 25th February, 1765. *Vide* Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, 20th and 28th February 1765.

(21) See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 7th September, 1765 ; also Home Department (Public) O.C. No. 3, 9th September, 1765. The relevant O.C. does not contain any date of the Agreement referred to in the text above. As I have shown elsewhere (*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I, 1765-72, pp. 5-1, footnote), the Agreement in question must have been executed on a date in between 24th August, 1765, when Clive was on 'the Ganges near Benares' on his way back from Allahabad and 7th September, 1765, when, on his return to Calcutta, he laid before the Select Committee "an account of his several absence from the Presidency".

Company became, to quote the words of the Select Committee at Fort William, "both the Collectors & Proprietors" (22) of the revenues derived from the Diwani lands, and virtually "the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom." (23) Further, we find in a letter to Mr. Francis Sykes Resident at the Durbar dated at Fort William 12th January, 1768, the Select Committee writing to him that it concurred with him in opinion that the Company as Diwan had "an undoubted right" to exert its authority in all matters relating to the collection of revenues.

Now the functions of the office of Diwan were, since the Company had come into possession of it, exercised (24) by its resident at the Durbar who acted as the "Collector of the King's Revenue under the Inspection and control of the Select Committee" at Fort William. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn he, said (25) the Select Committee, "superintends the whole collections receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars disburses the stated Revenues appropriated to the King and the nabob inquires into the causes of deficiencies; redresses Injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the Revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of Treasure, and a monthly account of the Treasury with every other occurrence of Importance to the President and Select Committee". (26) In view of these duties entrusted to him, the Resident at the Durbar was also

(22) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 5th October, 1765; also see the Supplement, dated at Fort William 1st October, 1765, to the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765.

(23) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765, para. 29.

(24) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

(25) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

Also :—"When first we received from His Majesty the grant of the Dewanny and entered upon the collection of the Royal Revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Muhamed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inspection of the Resident at the Durbar."—*Ibid*, para. 13.

(26) For instance, when Mr. Richard Becher was appointed Resident at the Durbar in place of Mr. Francis Sykes who had been "reduced to the necessity of requesting permission from the President and Council to proceed to Europe" on account of the declining state of his health the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to him the following letter :—  
"To Richard Becher, Esq.,  
Resident at the Durbar.

Sir,

The President and Council having nominated you to the station of Resident at the Durbar you will be pleased to proceed to the City with all convenient expedition.

You are to correspond with the Select Committee on the subject of the collections committed to your charge, as well as of all other matters relative to the Country Govt.

As the several orders transmitted to your predecessor will be delivered over to you for your guidance we have only at present to add our best wishes for yr. success.

We are Etc."

Fort William  
4th Jan'y 1769.

See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 4th January, 1769.

designated "Collector of the Dewanny": and he was required to transmit to the Select Committee "all accounts relative to the Revenues". (27)

We may also note in this connexion the views which the Court of Directors held in regard to the position and functions of the Resident at the Durbar after the Royal grant of the Diwani to the Company. In its letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, the Court observed that being constantly on the spot, he (i.e., the Resident) could not long be "a Stranger to any Abuses in the Government", and was always "armed with Power to remedy them". It would be "his Duty to stand between the Administration and the Encroachments always to be apprehended from the Agents of the Company's Servants, which must first be known to him". He was to check all such encroachments and to prevent the oppression of the people of this country. It then referred to its "Sentiments on the office of Resident" as expressed by it in its letter of 24th December, 1765, (28) and said that these "Sentiments" it had held in regard to this office as it had then stood. But now that it had become, presumably in view of the Royal grant of the Diwani, (29) "of so much more Importance", it should, it felt, (30) leave the regularity of it "to the Select Committee; and it desired the Committee to "be very explicit on the subject". It directed, however, that all the correspondence of the Resident with the Committee should be carried on "through the Channel of the President"; that he must "keep a Diary (31) of all his Transactions"; that his "Correspondence with the Natives must be publicly conducted"; and that copies of all his letters sent and received, should "be transmitted Monthly to the Presidency, with Duplicates and Triplicates, to be transmitted Home in our General Packet by every ship". (32)

(27) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William 11th February, 1767.

(28) Obviously, reference here is to paragraph 64 of the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 24th December, 1765. The paragraph has been quoted in footnote 1 on page 3 *ante*.

(29) Obviously, reference here is to paragraph 64 of the Court's General Letter to the Dewanny revenues" was no "under his (i.e., the Resident's) immediate Inspection".

(30) See Home Dept. (Fort William, O.C. No. 9, dated 28th December, 1768.

See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 16.

(31) In regard to this, the Select Committee wrote to the Court in its reply dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767 :—

"The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office, but as we are afraid of distracting his attention by presenting too great a variety of different objects to the mind we must at present leave the particular mode of carrying on business to the Resident's own discretion".—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767.

(32) The reply of the Select Committee at Fort William was :

"His (i.e., the Resident's) correspondence however with the natives, & copies of all letters he may send or receive in his public station, we shall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and Triplicates to be transmitted (home) in our General Packet".—See the *Ibid*.

Thus the Court would be kept informed of the activities of the Resident at the Durbar.

It should also be mentioned here that the collection of revenues in the province of Bihar was placed "under the immediate direction of the Chief (33) at Patna". He acted jointly, first with Raja Deerijnarayan (34) for a year and a half and then with Rajah Shitab Roy, and was subordinate to the Resident at the Durbar, to whom he used to make "consignments of Treasure", and to transmit monthly accounts of his office. The Resident was required to send those accounts to the Select Committee at Fort William. (35)

Further, when in 1769 Superavisors (or Supervisors) were appointed "on behalf of the Company in each particular province with a view to investigate and ascertain in a minute clear and comprehensive manner a variety of circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country (i.e., the Diwani portion of Bengal)" (36) and for "superintending the native officers employed in collecting the revenue of administering justice" there, the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, on 10th December, 1769, explaining the nature of the authority with which it meant to invest the latter in relation to the Supravisors. (37) Among other things, the Committee stated in its letter to Mr. Becher:—"It is our Intention that the Supravisors shall set immediately under the Resident at the Durbar ; and in case of any Misconduct on their parts that he shall have the power of recalling them from their Stations making immediate Report of such his Proceedings to us, or to the Select Committee for the time being in order to have our final Determination". "But this Power in the Resident", the Committee added, "is not meant to extend towards the Supravisor of Dacca, whilst a Member of the Board whose appointment being more immediately

---

(33) i.e. the Company's Chief Representative there.

(34) This fact is not generally known. We have discovered it in a minute which Warren Hastings (President and Governor) delivered before a meeting of the Council in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on 19th November, 1772. He stated in the course of this minute :—

"I learn that when the Company first became possessed of the Dewaunee Rajah Deerijnarain was constituted Naib Dewan of the Province of Bahar, and held that post for a year and a half that is during the year 1172 and half (of) 1173—that he was then dismissed for supposed neglect or mismanagement in suffering a Ballance to accumulate in the rents of 6½ Laacks of Rupees . . . . "on the dismissal of Rajah Deerijnarayan Rajah Shitabroy was appointed to the charge of his office of Naib Dewan and had the management of the collections till the End of the year 1177 when it devolved to the care of the Board (Council) of Revenue which was then formed".—See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William 19th November 1772.

(35) See the letter of the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767.

(36) See the "Form of Instructions to be issued by the Resident at the Durbar to the several supravisors", in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee (at Fort William) held at Fort William on 16th Augut, 1769. For a detailed discussion of the position and functions of the Supravisors, see the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., Chapters II & III.

(37) See the Select Committee's letter to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, dated at Fort William, 10th December, 1769. *Vide* the Proceedings of the Select Committee of 10th December 1769; also the India Office copy of the same in the Imperial Record Office, New Delhi.

by us, we will reserve to ourselves the Judgment of his conduct (38) : but the Resident at the Durbar, and such Supervisor of Dacca are mutually to correspond with each other ; and his accounts and Information are to be sent to the Resident in order to preserve the Form of Government by their being laid regularly before the Ministers for their sanction and opinions".

Moreover, the Resident at the Durbar had been for some time the Chief of the Company's Factory at Cossimbazar. As it had been found, however, that the duties of the two offices were too heavy for one person to discharge satisfactorily, the Court of Directors wrote to the President and Council at Fort William on 20th November, 1767 : (39)

Being convinced that the Employs of Resident at the Durbar and Chief of Cossimbazar cannot from the Importance and Extent of the Business of each Department be properly executed by one Person, we therefore direct that they be from this time forward separated, and that some other member of the Council be appointed to the said Chiefship, We do not make this Regulation from any failure of attentoin on the part of Mr. Sykes, with whose conduct we are perfectly satisfied".

And in a previous letter (40) the Court had written to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, on 21st November, 1766 :

"We observe that Mr. Sykes (Resident at the Durbar) has also charged the Factory at Cossimbazar We apprehend the attention to so large an investment as is made at that Factory will take him off from the more important objects of his office of Resident at the Durbar ; if you find Our Conjecture well grounded we recommend it to you, to appoint one of the other members of the Council to that Chiefship that the Resident at the Durbar might apply himself solely to the Superintendency of the Revenues".

The Council at Fort William took action as directed by the Court : And in its General Letter (41) to the Court, dated at Fort William 13th September, 1768, it stated :

"In consequence of your orders that the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should no longer be held by one person we appointed Mr. Wm. Aldersey to the Former and that Gentln having requested our opinion upon some points, we thought it necessary to draw a line between the authority of each & accordingly decided.

"That all persons employed in the provision of the Investment (42) & the management of that Branch should under the authority and discretion of the Chief of Cossimbazar—

"That all applications to the Nabob should be thro' the channel of the Resident at the Durbar

(38) See in this connexion the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., 1765-72, pp. 77-78, footnote, for further details in regard to this matter.

(39) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 110.

(40) See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(41) Para. 118.

(42) This term signified "the goods purchased for the European markets".



"That the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should each of them have additional Power to grant Dusticks (43) in their Respective Departments".

As we shall shortly see, the duties of the Resident at the Durbar and those of the Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar were again entrusted to the same person in 1772. This happened in the following circumstances.

As we have shown in detail elsewhere, (44) on July 6th, 1770, the Governor and Council at Fort William instituted, in pursuance of the instructions of the Court of Directors conveyed by its General Letter of 30th June, 1769, by the *Lapwing*, two Controlling Councils of Revenue—one at Moorshedabad and another at Patna. With the institution of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad the Office of Resident at the Durbar was abolished, and Mr. Richard Becher who had previously been appointed Resident at the Durbar, was now appointed Chief of President of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, with Messrs Reed, Lawrell and Graham as his colleagues. And the Council at Fort William issued (45) the following Instruction among others, to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad:—

"You are to have the control of all the business of the Dewanee Revenue But Mahomed Reza Cawn must be Naib Duan and all the business must be carried on through the Naib & under his seal and signing.

"The authority with which we heretofore vested the Resident at the Durbar . . . . . will no longer remain with him. It is to be exerted by you our Council and all transactions with the Country Government which were carried on through the Channel of the Resident of the Durbar . . . . . will now be conducted by you.

"And whatever the majority of the Council determine upon is to pass into an Act—but on a division of voices the Chief is to have the Casting Vote". (46)

And when on the recommendation (47) of what is known as the Committee of Circuit, (48) the Council at Fort William decided in August, 1772, to remove the 'Khalsa (49) with all the offices appertaining thereto', from Moorshedabad

(43) Dustuck or Dustick : A pass-port or permit or order. It usually meant the passport issued by the Governor at Fort William or the Chiefs of English factories, for the goods of the Company or of their servants, which exempted them from the payment of duties.

(44) See the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., 1765-72, Chapter IV.

(45) See *ibid.*, pp. 104-110, for further details.

(46) These as well as other Instructions which the Council at Fort William issued to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad had been approved of by the former at its Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 16th August, 1770. They were actually sent to the latter on 11th September, 1770.—See the *ibid.*, pp. 104-110, for further details.

(47) See the *ibid.*, pp. 114-116 for further details.

(48) Constituted by the Controlling Committee of Revenue at its meeting held at Fort William on 14th May, 1772. For details, see the *ibid.*, pp. 158-59 and also pp. 176-77.

(49) Khalsa : The exchequer; 'the office of Government under the Muhammadan administration in which the business of the Revenue Department was transacted, and which was continued during the early period of British rule'.

to Calcutta and place it under its immediate control at the Presidency, it ordered, as will be evident from the following letter, the dissolution of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad : (50)

We may add that after the decision had been taken by the Council at Fort William to dissolve the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad and to remove from there the Khalsa, etc., to Calcutta, the Committee of circuit proposed (51) that, as Moorshedabad would still continue "to be the Seat of the Residence of the Nabob", a person should remain there "in Quality of Resident of (at?) the Durbar". His duties would be to superintend the transactions of the Nawab's Court, "to keep an Eye over the conduct of his Guardian (52) and his Duan, (53) in the care of his Education & the management of his Household to furnish the Advances of his stipend according to the orders of the President & Council to receive and transmit the Accounts of its Application agreeably to the orders of the Court of Directors and to attend to the good Government of the City". The Committee also suggested that, as the situation of the Resident would enable him to conduct with regularity and success the collection of the Western Division of Rajshahi, it should be put under his superintendence. The Committee further proposed that the Resident at the Durbar should be appointed Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar. Finally, "all these being objects of very great Trust", the Committee was of opinion that "they ought to be, and that the Court of Directors will approve of their being, confided to a member of the Council". It, therefore, recommended that Mr. Samuel Middleton should be appointed

(50) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 17th August, 1772; also the General Letter (Revenue Department to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 3rd November, 1772. "To

Saml. Middleton Esqre,

Chief & Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad.

Gentlemen,

Having judged it expedient to remove the Khalsa Etc. offices of the Dewannee from Moorshedabad to Calcutta in consequence of the command of the Hon'ble Company and the inutility of continuing the Revenue Establishment at Muxadabad without any charge being duly considered We this day came to the Resolution of Recalling the Gentlemen of your Board to the Presidency and of Dissolving the appointment we made for managing the Business of the Collections at the City. On receipt of this you will therefore consider yourselves no longer a Board of Revenue but finally Close your proceedings collect together your records and convey them in the safest manner to us.

Fort William

17th August, 1772.

We are, Etc.,  
Wm. Aldersey  
Thos. Lane  
Richd. Barwell  
(James) Harris  
Hy Goodwin"

(51) Vide Secret Consultation, Fort William, 29th August 1772; also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

(52) Munnee Begum, widow of the late Nawab Meer Jaffer.

(53) Raja Goordass, son of Maharaja Nund Comar.

"Resident of (at?) the Durbar, Collector of Rajeshahy and Chief of Cossimbazar". All these recommendations of the Committee of Circuit were duly accepted by the Council at Fort William. (54) Thus the office of Resident at the Durbar was reinstituted in 1772, although its duties now were to be somewhat different from what they had been before.

D. N. BANERJEE.

---

---

(54) See Secret consultation, Fort William, 29th August, 1772 also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

## A Brief Sketch of the Character and Achievements of Thomas Saunders.

---

LIKE Clive and Hastings Saunders began his career on the lowest rung of the ladder. He could have had but little prospects on the Company's establishment at Bencoolen where he arrived as a writer at the age of 19, in July 1732 (1). Within two years, however, he got himself transferred to Madras, (2) where having first served as writer to the Accountant he became a factor in 1737 (3). In 1738 he became "a sub-accountant in the room of Mr. Appleby deceased" (4). In 1739 having come of age he executed his covenants nominating Messrs. Thomas Saunders and Hickman as securities (5). Next year found him as a second of the Council at Vizagapatam (6). He took charge from George Stratton but was soon, in 1743, on the appointment of Richard Prince as Chief, ordered to repair to Ingeram as Resident (7). It was while he was at Ingeram that the orders of the Court of Directors arrived appointing him as the fifth of the Council of Fort St. David, where the seat of the Presidency had been transferred, since the loss of Madras (8). He, however, continued as Resident at Ingeram and in December 1749 took charge of the post of Chief of Vizagapatam (9). In July 1750 the Lynn brought the despatch from the Company appointing him to succeed Charles Floyer as Governor (10).

He must have been gratified indeed, at the age of barely 37 years (11), to have been made the head of the affairs of the Company on the Coromandel Coast. But his gratification would not have been unmixed with feelings of doubt and apprehension. For he was at once called upon to shoulder two great responsibilities. He had to face the most critical situation created by the fall of Nāsir Jung and the rise of Dupleix in the politics of the Carnatic. He had, at the same time, to invigorate and reform the entire administration of the Company's affairs which had become effectuated and enervated. Floyer

- 
- (1) Letters to Fort St. George 1732—Printed p. 7.  
(2) do. do. 1735—Printed p. 24.  
(3) Fort St. George Cons. 1736—Printed p. 202 and 1737 p. 146.  
(4) do. do. 1738 p. 128.  
(5) do. do. 1739—Printed p. 27.  
(6) do. do. 1740—Printed p. 28.  
(7) do. do. 1743—Printed p. 25, 121, 181.  
(8) do. do. 1748—Printed p. 124.  
(9) Letters to Fort St. David 1749—Printed p. 11.  
(10) Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 165.  
(11) Fort St. David Cons. 1748—Printed p. 240.

had thought more of the gaming table than of the Council Board, allowed the administration to languish and incurred the wrath of the Company (12). Dupleix had watched, calculated, seized the right moment to ally himself with Chanda Saheb and Musafar Jang and resolved at all costs to fight for the supremacy in the South, to set up his nominee Chanda Saheb on the Musnud at Arcot. External danger and internal decay threatened to imperil the Company's possessions. In this welter of affairs Saunders took the only bold course that was open to him. He allied himself heart and soul with the cause of Muhammad Ali and exercised the strictest control over every branch of the Company's administration.

Saunders as a Governor appears cold, stern, and at time dictatorial in the storm and stress period of his rule (13). His associates found him silent and uncommunicative. Lawrence was never sure of his sympathy; he once accused him of having made him wait for a considerable time before he could get an audience with him (14). He was lacking in tact and suavity in his dealings with his colleagues; his correspondence with Lawrence and Colonel Adlcr Cron furnish us innumerable instances in which had he displayed some tact and less reticence, he could have avoided some at least of their rancour and fretfulness (15). Nor is there any evidence to indicate that he was sociable, that he entertained his friends and subordinates or shone well in conversation. He was indeed no orator (16); he was not gifted with eloquence, humour, wit or irony. But if we may judge from his writings he had some talent for sarcasm and he sometimes employed quite unconsciously a natural rhetoric. The reports of the West Coast Committee over which he presided reveal that he had a style at once vigorous and fertile, not wanting in embellishments, frank, direct, and carrying conviction in almost every sentence (17). The same gift of direct expression, of frankness in intercourse, is discernible in his letters addressed to the Nawab and other country powers (18). He detested bombast and long-windedness. Indeed in his intercourse with his friends and subordinates and in his transactions with the merchants, he never beat about the bush, he always went straight to the point.

This cold aloofness, though it endeared him to none, served him well in one respect. It enabled him to arrive at decisions with the utmost calmness,

(12) Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744—1755; Dodwell p. vii.

(13) Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744—1755 p. vii-viii. Dupleix and Clive—Dowdell 54.

(14) See Lawrence's letters to Saunders printed in the Military Cons. 1753 and 1754 (2) ally p. 2 of Mil. Cons. of 1753.

(15) See Saunders' letters to Lawrence in the Mil. Cons. of Fort St. George, 1753-1754 and (2) letters to Col. Adlcr Cron in Mil. Cons. of 1754. See also Mil. Sundries Nos. 6 and 7.

(16) e.g. On the inauguration of the Charter establishing the Mayor's Court and other (3) s of Justice he is reported to have made only a brief speech. Pub. Cons. 1753-Ms. (37) 81-B-24th Aug.

(17) See the Reports in Pub. Cons. Vol. No. 81-B. Cons. dated 8th Oct. 1753, and (3) 83-B Cons. dated 7th Oct. 1854.

(18) See Country Correspondence Vols. printed for 1750-51 and 1753—1755.

to perform his duties unaffected, unhampered by any feelings of fear of favour. He was perhaps the most impartial among his colleagues ; he seldom contravened the rule of seniority in promotions and where he contravened, as in the case of Clive, whom he chose for an important military mission from among the Civilians, the results more than amply justified his contravention. It must be remarked that in the matter of promotions even the great Lawrence himself, showed more than once his favouritism and partiality ; but Saunders opposed this tendency, whenever injustice was involved to seniors, even at the risk of rousing his anger (19). In fact, in discharging his duties he cared little for personalities ; he opposed, censured, warned and suspended even members of Council. Whenever he and his colleagues felt it dangerous to pursue the course suggested by Lawrence, he vehemently opposed that policy, and got the views of the Government enforced by that veteran notwithstanding his fumings and frettings and threats to quit the command of the army (20). There is nothing to show, except the groundless accusations of Lawrence (21), that he distrusted his colleagues and subordinates. On one point, however, — was firm. He did not permit himself to be drawn into chimerical schemes on a course of conduct which was in any way detrimental to the Company's interests. He did not allow Colonel Adlerscron to interfere into the politics of the Carnatic of which he knew little ; nor did he permit him to have sole voice in the matters affecting the discipline and regulation of the Company's army, though he claimed over such matters the sole authority from the Crown (21). The manner in which he dealt with Adlerscron and Lawrence both autocrats, who could brook no dictation, while it displays his want of tact shows also his tenacity to preserve and his solicitude to protect the interests of the Company. He accepted their good suggestions and rejected the bad after a full discussion in Council and if they still persisted in the adoption of their views he informed them the full reasons for the non-adoption of those views, or compromised with them where compromise was possible without sacrificing any essential principle or course of conduct necessary for the well-being and safety of the Company's possessions. He established and supported the Mayor's Court against all calumnies ; but when the Mayor's Court began to question the authority of the Government, he upheld that authority against all opposition (22). He did every thing to protect the prestige, the privileges of the Company, and impressed his strong sense of duty on all who served the Company. When Cooke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, hesitated to procrastinate and eventually refused to go on an important political mission to Tanjore, unless he were assured of a special compensation, Saunders threatened him with dismissal, unless the orders were carried out at once (23).

(19) e.g. Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 2, 1754 p. 135 sqq. Love's Vestiges of Old M Vol. II, p. 484 sqq.

(20) References already given to the correspondence between Lawrence and Saunders illustrate this.

(21) Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 218 sqq.

(22) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 25th July; 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 14th 21st, 28th Jan. 4th Feb. 18th Feb. Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. June.

(23) Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed pp. 149-51, 152-54, 159-162.



Dawsonne Drake, another member of the Council met with a similar threat when he declined on the pretext of illness to go as a supervisor to Sumatra (24). Several other examples may be quoted by which he endeavoured to improve the discipline and conduct of the Company's service.

But if he was a hard task-master, he was a kind and benevolent administrator. The poor, the weak and the oppressed found in him a warm patron who could always be trusted to look to their welfare even amidst the din of warfare and anarchy. His sense of justice and humanity revolted against all kinds of oppressions practised by the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak. He prohibited the craze for Pagoda-building, a craze which had originated in the ambitions of the rich to earn renown, and for which they traded on the superstitions of the poor and compelled them to contribute funds which they could ill-afford to spare (25). He recommended to the Directors the abolition of the various duties collected by the Managers of the Pagodas from the poor worshippers for which there was neither any precedent nor any prescription (26). He forbade the renters under strict penalties from collecting duties on horned cattle brought into Madras and on provisions and necessary articles of food (27). He composed the disputes of the Right and Left hand casts, of the Tengala and Wadagala Brahmins, and preserved as far as possible internal peace and security within the bounds of Madras (28). In an age of inveterate hostility towards the Roman Catholics and Armenians, an age which witnessed the demolition of the Portuguese Church in the White Town (29) and the transfer of the Church built at Vepery by Coja Petrus to the Danish Mission (30), he felt some compassion for the Roman Catholics and granted them certain privileges even against the expressed wishes of the Home Authorities. He allowed them to remain in the White Town until they could conveniently accommodate themselves in the Black Town (31), and granted certain allowances to Fathers Severini and Bernard (32). He it was who was more than any body else responsible for bettering the lot of the coffrees, the African slaves, who were brought in ship loads from Madagascar to Madras and from thence transhipped to Sumatra to work in the plantations. He passed a series of orders for providing them proper accommodation, food, clothing and medical aid (33). He gave the male members military training and transformed them into tolerably good military material (34). Nor did he

(24) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83 Cons. d/5th Sep.; 9th Sept.; and 16th September.

(25) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(26) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 31st Decr.

(27) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 7th January.

(28) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 4th May.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(29) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th Jan. & 20th April.

(30) " " 1732 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th October & 20th November.

(31) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th January.

(32) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 6th August.

(33) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st September & 24th December.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 28th August.

(34) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 25th September.

to perform his duties unaffected, unhampered by any feelings of fear of favour. He was perhaps the most impartial among his colleagues ; he seldom contravened the rule of seniority in promotions and where he contravened, as in the case of Clive, whom he chose for an important military mission from among the Civilians, the results more than amply justified his contravention. It must be remarked that in the matter of promotions even the great Lawrence himself, showed more than once his favouritism and partiality ; but Saunders opposed this tendency, whenever injustice was involved to seniors, even at the risk of rousing his anger (19). In fact, in discharging his duties he cared little for personalities ; he opposed, censured, warned and suspended even members of Council. Whenever he and his colleagues felt it dangerous to pursue the course suggested by Lawrence, he vehemently opposed that policy and got the views of the Government enforced by that veteran notwithstanding his fumings and frettings and threats to quit the command of the army (20). There is nothing to show, except the groundless accusations of Lawrence that he distrusted his colleagues and subordinates. On one point, however, he was firm. He did not permit himself to be drawn into chimerical schemes or on a course of conduct which was in any way detrimental to the Company's interests. He did not allow Colonel Adlercron to interfere into the politics of the Carnatic of which he knew little ; nor did he permit him to have the sole voice in the matters affecting the discipline and regulation of the Company's army, though he claimed over such matters the sole authority from the Crown (21). The manner in which he dealt with Adlercron and Lawrence, both autocrats, who could brook no dictation, while it displays his want of tact, shows also his tenacity to preserve and his solicitude to protect the interests of the Company. He accepted their good suggestions and rejected the bad after a full discussion in Council and if they still persisted in the adoption of their views he informed them the full reasons for the non-adoption of those views, or compromised with them where compromise was possible without sacrificing any essential principle or course of conduct necessary for the well-being and safety of the Company's possessions. He established and supported the Mayor's Court against all calumnies ; but when the Mayor's Court began to question the authority of the Government, he upheld that authority against all opposition (22). He did every thing to protect the prestige, the privileges of the Company, and impressed his strong sense of duty on all who served the Company. When Cooke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, hesitated, procrastinated and eventually refused to go on an important political mission to Tanjore, unless he were assured of a special compensation, Saunders threatened him with dismissal, unless the orders were carried out at once (

(19) e.g. Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 2, 1754 p. 135 sqq. Love's Vestiges of Old M. Vol. II, p. 464 sqq.

(20) References already given to the correspondence between Lawrence and Saunders illustrate this.

(21) Mill. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 218 sqq.

(22) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 25th July ; 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 14th 21st, 28th Jan. 4th Feb. 18th Feb. Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. June.

(23) Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed pp. 149-51, 152-54, 159-162.

Dawsonne Drake, another member of the Council met with a similar threat when he declined on the pretext of illness to go as a supervisor to Sumatra (24). Several other examples may be quoted by which he endeavoured to improve discipline and conduct of the Company's service.

Not if he was a hard task-master, he was a kind and benevolent administrator. The poor, the weak and the oppressed found in him a warm patron who would always be trusted to look to their welfare even amidst the din of <sup>espec</sup> and anarchy. His sense of justice and humanity revolted against all his <sup>le</sup> oppressions practised by the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak. (He prohibited the craze for Pagoda-building, a craze which had Court in the ambitions of the rich to earn renown, and for which they Vol. in the superstitions of the poor and compelled them to contribute which they could ill-afford to spare (25). He recommended to the Vol. the abolition of the various duties collected by the Managers of godas from the poor worshippers for which there was neither any tent nor any prescription (26). He forbade the renters under strict ities from collecting duties on horned cattle brought into Madras and on visions and necessary articles of food (27). He composed the disputes of Right and Left hand casts, of the Tengala and Wadagala Brahmins, and preserved as far as possible internal peace and security within the bounds of Madras (28). In an age of inveterate hostility towards the Roman Catholics and Armenians, an age which witnessed the demolition of the Portuguese Church in the White Town (29) and the transfer of the Church built at Vepery by Coja Petrus to the Danish Mission (30), he felt some compassion for the Roman Catholics and granted them certain privileges even against the expressed wishes of the Home Authorities. He allowed them to remain in the White Town until they could conveniently accommodate themselves in the Black Town (31), and granted certain allowances to Fathers Severini and Bernard (32). He it was who was more than any body else responsible for bettering the lot of the coffrees, the African slaves, who were brought in ship loads from Madagascar to Madras and from thence transhipped to Sumatra to work in the plantations. He passed a series of orders for providing them proper accommodation, food, clothing and medical aid (33). He gave the male members military training and transformed them into tolerably good military material (34). Nor did he

(24) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83 Cons. d/5th Sep.; 9th Sept.; and 16th September.

(25) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(26) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 31st Decr.

(27) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 7th January.

(28) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 4th May.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(29) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th Jan. & 20th April.

(30) " " 1732 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th October & 20th November.

(31) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th January.

(32) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 6th August.

(33) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st September & 24th December.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 28th August.

(34) " " 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 25th September.

allow the coffee women to be molested by the soldiers or sepoys. A strict guard over them was to be kept and any misconduct detected was to be instantly reported and punished (35). To his sympathy for the distressed must also be attributed the close control which he exercised over hospital managements. As soon as the hospital was shifted from the Fort to Peddanayague Petta he passed, on instructions from Home, a Standing order to the effect that one of the members of the Council, should, once a week, by turn, visit the hospital and report to the Board any defects or irregularities with suggestions for remedies (36). The members of the Council, we notice, spoke during these visits not only to the surgeons but also to the patients and enquired into complaints. To these frequent visits must be traced a number of reforms ; the enlargement of and repairs to the hospital wards, the provision of good food during scarcity, of sufficient warm clothing during winter, and of additional ward-boys and coolies to render prompt and efficient service (37). Above everything these visits provided a much needed control over the conduct of the surgeons.

These are not the only qualities of Saunders that strike us when we study his administration. We meet at every step instances of his ability, his vigilance, his courage, his resourcefulness and a tenacity which rarely knew any obstacles. A depreciating currency, a treasury impoverished by large drafts from the camp, a declining investment, a society disorganised by warfare and a service unaccustomed to strict control, all these called for supreme statesmanship.

The currency problem confronted Saunders at the very beginning of his administration. He observed that the low price of silver, of rupees, had dislocated trade, discontented the service, and caused even a mutiny at Madras. Since the loss of Madras all Government payments and advances had been made in rupees. Bills drawn on Arcot from all parts of India had been formerly transmitted in rupees, but recently the merchants had given up this practice and made their return in goods. Nasir Jang had brought with him a large quantity of rupees for the payment of his troops. The net result of all this had been an abundance of rupees in the Carnatic, and this had lowered their value while the influx of gold had become very small. To remedy this evil Saunders proposed that all receipts and payments should be made in gold, *i.e.*, in pagodas and "instead of coining when our occasions require we (should) dispose of some silver (38)." Gold could only be procured by the sale of rupees and throughout the period of Saunder's Rule, large quantities of rupees were exchanged for pagodas, very frequently, almost every month, to meet the demands of the State (39). In 1754 it was

(35) Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st September.

(36) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 4th Dec. sqq. Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744-55 p. 164.

(37) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. 81-B Cons. 10th December.

1754 Ms. 83-B Cons. 9th Sept., 31st Oct., 25th Novr., & 31st Decr.

(38) Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 248.

(39) The reader will find many instances of this in the Public Consultations.

ordered that all small payments, instead of being made in Pagodas should be made in fanams and for this purpose Fort St. David like Madras was asked to keep always in stock a sufficient quantity of fanams (40).

Indeed, the problem of financing the needs of the needs of the State called forth supreme exertions on the part of Saunders and his Council. As the fighting round Trichinipoly continued unabated, large and urgent demands were made from the camp while the merchants increasingly clamoured for advances that they might fulfil their contracts, that they might set the weavers to work. What was supplied by the Company was hardly found sufficient to meet these importunate demands; many time the Government found itself with a depleted treasury. The usual method of remittances to Fort St. David were by bills; bills drawn on the Presidency in favour of persons who had lent money at Fort St. David were cleared as fast as they were presented. The Presidency also remitted bills on the Company's servants or on the representatives of the wellknown bankers of that age, Bucanjee Cassidas. It was more than once felt necessary to order Fort St. David not to issue bills of less than 10 days sight (41). Borrowing was often resorted to and Saunders himself, we are told, lent large sums of money on urgent occasions (42). Nor was this all. To meet the large demands Saunders and his Council often had to detain part of the Treasure intended for Bengal in spite of the remonstrances of that Presidency (43).

In this period of vast expenditure on the army it was but natural that the Government should scrutinize their budget with care, exercise all irregularities and attempt, if possible, to increase their resources. Saunders kept a strongest supervision over receipts and insisted that the Company's farmers should pay their instalments promptly and regularly. He never allowed them any remission unless they could show just cause and swear in their temples as to the truth of their unavoidable losses (44). Whenever the farms expired he caused careful enquiries to be made so as to ascertain their real value that they might be farmed out at a higher sum (45). He secured from the Nawab first the Kille of Poonamallee as a Jageer to the Company (46), and then the revenues of Seven Magnams, Manamangalam, Covelong and Chingleput, as part payment of the growing debts of the Nawab to the

(40) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82, Cons. 14th and 21st January.

(41) e.g. Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 17th April.

(42) e.g. „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B 26th November.

1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 18th February.

(43) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. August & 15th October.

(44) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th October.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A & B Cons. 28th May & 10th December.

1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 25th Mar, 29th Apr., 6th May, 20th May, 28th May.

Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 25th June, 15th July and 26th August.

(45) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81A & B Cons. 9th June & 4th August.

(46) Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 137, 176 & 183.

Company (47). He subjected every item of expenditure of the subordinate settlements to strict scrutiny, eliminated irregularities and waste and insisted on a regular transmission of the accounts every month. In cases of habitual neglect and gross irregularities he threatened to suspend even the members of Council (48). On being apprised of certain defects in the management of the Company's works he instituted a thorough enquiry (49), appointed a Standing Committee of Works and ordered that all building materials, bricks and Chunam, should be obtained on the tender system (50). He defined the duties of the Company's Engineer ; he laid down that for every construction he should first prepare estimate and that he should undertake no repairs costing over 50 Pagodas without the order of the Government (51). On his suggestion the Accountant was required to draw up monthly an abstract of the expenses of the Settlement compared with the preceding month explaining the causes of increase and decrease, so that a strict watch over expenditure might be maintained (52).

Turning to the Company's commerce Saunders could find but little satisfaction. Here there was much to improve a great deal to do to prop up a declining investment. Commerce can hardly flourish where war prevails and the fever of warfare which raged in the Carnatic and spread in the Deccan undermined the Company's investment. The weavers found it impossible to pursue their trade in peace ; the merchants felt it precarious to entrust them with money ; while the Government experienced much difficulty in procuring merchants who could be expected to fulfil their contracts, and, after having procured them, in advancing them, sufficient funds at a time when the demands from the camp practically impoverished the treasury (53). Yet Saunders and his Council made every endeavour to encourage the Investment both in Madras and the subordinate factories of Fort St. David in the South, and Vizagapatam, Bandermalanka and Ingeram in the North. It is unnecessary to recount here the various strands of the political turmoil of the Carnatic and the Deccan. Suffice it to say that the almost intermittent fighting which prevailed in the South badly hit the Fort St. David investment, while the intrigues of Bussy, the quarrels of Vizairamrauz, Jaffar Aly Cawn and the Raja of Bobbili, and the incursions of the Marathas considerably affected the investment of the Northern Factories. To this was added in the Deccan the systematic endeavours of the French to seduce the weavers and merchants, and the scarcity of dodoos, the copper money with which alone the weaver could buy the thread in the local market. In Madras itself the investment was in no better condition. Saunders and his Council did not fail to grasp the situation. They felt that it was impossible to expect much improvement in the midst of chaos. They frequently sent

(47) Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 153, 182, 183, 185, 197, 203, 212.

(48) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 26th September.

(49) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82—Cons. 28th January, 29th April, 13th May.

(50) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82—Cons. 29th April, 13th May and 28th May.

(51) " " 1753 Ms. 81-B Cons. 10th July.

(52) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. July 10th.

(53) The Pub. Cons. are full of these complaints.



money both in the shape of cash and bills to the subordinate settlements, consented to buy even inferior cloth at an abatement (54), made urgent arrangements for the supply of dodoos to the Northern Factories (55) and advised their subordinacies to handle their merchants with tact and consideration. The merchants were not to be allowed to run into large arrears to the Company ; the deserving among them were to be advanced and encouraged, the undeserving warned and punished ; but on no account were they to be allowed to defraud the Company (56). Saunders made some attempts to explore the possibility of providing an investment at Devicotta (57). In Madras itself he and his colleagues many a time called the merchants before the Board, exhorted them to fulfil their contracts, reminded them of the various privileges granted them by the Company, and sometimes also warned them that unless they improve their conduct and supplied better cloth, their services would be dispensed with and contracts made with new merchants (58). Thus by a judicious mixture of appeal to their good sense and fears they were induced to supply the best cloth procurable in the market. New merchants were entertained only when absolutely necessary. Thus for instance, when Linga Chetty repeatedly refused to comply with the terms offered him for the provision of fine goods, his monopoly was abolished and, contracts on favourable terms were concluded with other merchants (59). It was however not so much in the matter of providing investment as in the disposal of European goods, particularly of broad cloth, that Saunders and his Council encountered insurmountable difficulties. There was a tolerably good demand for copper and lead ; but for broad cloth, which the Directors sent in large quantities, in every season, there was really little demand in the hot climate of the South. In spite of every endeavour, in spite of frequent auctions, in spite of the encouragements held out to the bidders the sales were poor ; and this fact much incensed the Home Authorities (60).

If Saunders showed uncommon zeal in the internal administration of the affairs of the Company, he showed an equally uncommon ability in conducting their external affairs. He served the Company for more than four critical years which consummate skill and ability. He displayed an

(54) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 23rd September, 25th November.

(55) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 2nd July, 13th August.

(56) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 14th July, 24th September, 30th October.  
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 11th February.  
Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 20th July.

(57) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 5th November, 4th December.  
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th March, 25th March, 6th April, 3rd June.  
Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 31st October.

(58) .. .. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 15th June.  
1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 21st May.  
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 22nd April.

(59) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 2nd August.

(60) .. .. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 23rd April, 8th Oct., 5th Nov., 20th Decr.  
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th Jan., 18th Feb., 13th May, 20th May.  
Ms. Vol. 83A & B Cons. 17th June, 16th September.

uncanny insight into the political calculus of his able and determined rival. It was he who was largely responsible for the frustration of the grandiose schemes of Dupleix. For every move made by Dupleix he made a counter-move on the political chess-board of the Carnatic (61). It was here that he sent Clive and Lawrence and formed combinations with the King of Tanjore and the Tondiman to counteract the French activities and alliances with the Dalavai of Mysore and the Marathas. It was here that Chanda Saheb was defeated and the cause of Mumammad Ali defended on the battlefield. It was here that he put forth all the exertions, employed all the resources of the Company (62). Not that he was unmindful or ignorant of the French Schemes in the Deccan. He knew the helplessness of the Nizam. He beheld the growing ascendancy of Bussy. He encouraged and instigated Shanavaz Cawn, Jaffer Ali and Vizairamrauze to put up a determined opposition to the French (63). Beyond this, however, he did not proceed for the precise reason that he did not feel justified in employing the English forces in two separate far off theatres of warfare when those forces were invariably smaller than the forces which the French could command in Carnatic alone, and when he realized that a decisive French Victory in the Carnatic implied a certain ruin to the Company's Settlements on the Coast. He was the first to foresee that the cause of Muhammad Ali was the cause of English, that the prosperity or adversity of the one was intimately bound up with the prosperity or adversity of the other. Hence it was that he supported the Nawab with all the men and money at his disposal and refused to buy peace at Sadras unless Dupleix acknowledged the Nawab's authority (64). It was only when the clouds gathered thick, when in spite of Lawrence's victories the strength of the enemy seemed in-exhaustible, that he proposed to detach the Dalavai and to bind him to the Company and the Nawab by ceding to his Trichinopoly. This involved some sacrifices on the part of the Nawab, but he regarded these sacrifices necessary in order that larger sacrifices might be avoided and the French robbed of a powerful ally and overthrown (65). This policy might, no doubt, be questioned, charged with inconsistency on the ground that it implied weakening the Nawab instead of strengthening him and giving up the prestige gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure instead of pursuing it. But it was an inconsistency which he might well plead was justified by stern political necessity. For, without recourse to it he described no prospects either for the Company or for the Nawab engaged as they were with diminishing resources in a protracted struggle with the Dalavai and Dupleix. When circumstances changed, when fresh supplies came from Europe, he attempted

(61) The reader is referred specially to the Military Consultations and French Correspondence Volumes of the period.

(62) See Mil. Cons. Vol. for 1752, 1753 and 1754—Printed.

(63) See Mil. Cons. Vol. for 1753 and 1754—Printed.

(64) Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 207 sqq.

1754—Printed p. 22 sqq.

(65) „ „ 1754—Printed p. 55, 62, sqq. 71, 76-78, 94-96, 104-106, 144, 147, 159, 173-5.

to organise a vast scheme to overthrow the French in the Aracot country (66). But when Godeheu proposed peace he accepted it securing in fact for the Nawab within which to recoup themselves and to muster all their strength for the coming struggle of the Seven Years War (67).

DR. B. S. BALIGA.

---

---

(66) Mii. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 276 *seqq.*

(67) „ „ 1754—Printed pp. 176-177, 187-188, 195, 201, 205-206, 214-215, 225-227, 233-235, 250, 256-257, 273, 282-283, 286-288, 290-298.

# A Study in Economic History Indapur Village.

---

**I**NDAPUR is a village in the taluka of the same name in the Poona district.

This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the economic history of the village from the unpublished records in the Peshwa's Daftar. All the material for this paper is gathered from the rumals of the Jamav section of the Daftar. A guide to the Peshwa's daftar describes this section as 'The largest and perhaps the most puzzling section of the Poona Daftar'. This part of the Daftar consists mostly of revenue accounts kept by the village officers. The author of the guide called the papers puzzling probably because they do not yield direct information about the political history of the Marathas. The guide further remarks, 'To a student having patience and capacity for labour this Jamav section of the Daftar representing as it does not only the centre but all the remotest corners of the Presidency is a veritable Alladin's cave . . . . Information about ancient measurements and revenue systems, the various kinds of taxes and their incidence and statistics of multifarious descriptions as well as names and duties of the old officials can similarly be gleaned.'

The village Indapur is selected for this study because the papers relating to this village cover 16 rumals and the record is therefore sufficiently voluminous. It has not been possible for me to study all these rumals. But I have managed to go through three of them fairly critically :

The arrangement of the bundles in the rumals is without any order. In the first rumal I found papers relating to the period from 1689 to 1750. Each rumal contains several bundles. Each bundle refers to one year. The bundle consists of a Gaonzada, the accounts of day to day revenue collections and also some loose paper relating to Inam grants. Occasionally one comes across a kowlnama or an Istava. Several of the originals of inam grants are found in various bundles.

The Gaonzada which is also described as Thalzada in some bundles begins by giving the exact area of the village. Then the division between Khalsa and Inam lands is given. The total area of the Inam land is given but no further details about these lands are available in the Gaonzada. The Khalsa land is described in detail. The Khalsa land means only that land which was open to assessment and so came under the jurisdiction of the village officers. The land is further divided between Bagayat and Jirayat. The Bagayat land is the garden land and therefore valuable ; the Jirayat includes all land except Bagayat both cultivable and non-cultivable. The Gaonzada then give the actual acreage under cultivation both Bagayat and

Jirayat. The names of all the tenants are given as well as the names of the fields. The tenants are classified as Lavgan and Upris. The Lavgan means those whose farm acreage is definitely measured while the Uprisan tenants are those who pay a lump sum as revenue and no exact measurements of the land they cultivate is mentioned. Besides the returns of land revenue the Gaonzada also gives details about the other heads of revenue. These are generally the Mohturfa Balute, Asami and Ghar Jama. The Mohturfa tax is taken from weavers, goldsmiths, Tambolis (Pan-sellers) oil-pressers, butchers, shepherds and hunnars (probably mechanics), and such other artisans who had shops in the village. The Baluta tax was taken from those artisans who gave hereditary service to the people of the village. The Baluta includes carpenters, washermen, barbers, cobblers, potters and Mangs (who disposed of dead cattle) etc.

The exact meaning of the term Asami is not known. Mr. Wilson's glossary is not very helpful on this point. This tax is generally taken at a flat rate of Rs. 2 per head. It is not however collected from all and sundry but only from those who pay rupees fifty or more as land tax both Bagayat and Jirayat. It is shown to have been collected from the artisan and the Balutas as well. If Asami is to be taken as meaning a house-tax then the question arises as to what Gharjama means. The Gharjama is collected at a variable rate from annas 8 to Rs. 3 and more per head. Mr. Wilson's glossary gives Gharjama as meaning house-tax. One bundle has separate slips showing individuals.

Next the Gaonzada gives the details of the disbursement: the payment to be made to the Fauzdar, the Deshmukh, Sardeshmukh, Deshpand, Patil, Kulkarni, Chaugula and the Chauthai share.

The Gaonzada or Thalzada and Kowlnamas are the important papers from our point of view. The bundle also consists of the day to day accounts of the revenue receipts; these however are not of any use. In one of the rumals I found a copy of a report made by the village officer describing in details the payments both in kind and services by them from the village people. This report is made to the British Government in the year 1835 A.D. But the report merely states the custom prevalent at the time and so the report in spite of the fact of being of a recent date is of historical value.

Many bundles are not complete. Some do not contain any gaonzadas at all. The condition of the papers is also very bad and deciphering some times becomes a problem. However I succeeded in securing two complete gaonzadas and the account that follows is based on the information given therein.

The earliest paper that I got refers to the year 1092 fasli. It gives the total area of the village as 185 chahurs and odd i.e. 22400 bighas and odd. The area of the village does not seem to have changed during the course of a century following. The gaonzada for the year 1235 gives almost the same area. The area under Inam land however shows a change. The year 1092 gives 4282 bighas as Inam while that of 1235 gives 4469 bighas as Inam. Inam land is further subdivided under two heads. The land given to the

village officers like Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Joshi, Chaugule and Temples, and land given to individuals as personal favour by the rulers. Such lands are given to the members of the priestly class and to some other people like the dancing girls or to paupers. The second class of Inam lands generally seem to have been given from the cultivable waste of the village. Such land is mentioned as pad-jungle-jamin, and is classified in three grades—first, second and third. The following is the analysis of the land as given in 1235.

Total land	...	22393 Bighas.	Nala	...	296 Bighas.
Bagayat	...	502 do	Meadow	...	30 do
Jirayat	...	21891 do	Pature	...	673 do
Inam	...	4469 do	Boundary	...	50 do
Village sites	...	481 do	Pasture for camel	...	1460 do
Khadakmal	...	2121 do	Area under tanks	...	104 do
Chopan	...	117 do			

The year 1092 gives 295 Bighas only as Bagayat land. This would mean of course that during the course of a century and more this area was doubled, probably due to the development of irrigation. The land under houses is classified into both Bagayat, Jirayat—of course the major portion is Jirayat and only 16 Bighas is Bagayat. The word Khadakmal would suggest pure rocky land. But the division of this land into Bagayat and Jirayat suggests that the 9 Bighas of Khadakmal though Bagayat in quality is strewn with boulders and so non-cultivable. Chopan land means loamy or clayey soil, impermeable and therefore unfit for cultivation. It is excluded from the cultivable area. The cultivable land amounts to 12588 Bighas. This does not mean however that it was all brought under cultivation. The land actually under cultivation is 5060 bighas only. The rest is known as Padjainin or cultivable waste or 'Gatkuli' i.e., without tenants.

Efforts were often made to bring such cultivatble waste under cultivation by leasing lands on nominal land tax for a period of five to ten years. The agreement is called a 'Kowl Istawa' and it means a lease or grant of waste land at a rent progressively increasing for a term of years when it becomes fixed. The 1151 'Istawa' shows an account of about 2437 Bighas. 1147 Bighas are fixed at a rate of 5/12 of a rupee per bigha and, the remaining at the rate of 2/3 of a rupee per Bigha. It is a ten years' settlement beginning from 1151. Some tenants reached the limit of Kamal revenue at the end of 5 years while some did so at the end of ten years. There are in all 73 tenants mentioned, 33 of whom had to pay the lower rate and the rest the higher rate. A tenant having 15 bighas for instance paid nothing in the first year, annas 8 in the second, the same amount in the third, a rupee and two annas in the fourth, rupees two and a quarter in the fifth, rupees three and annas two in the sixth, rupees four in the seventh, four rupees and fourteen annas in the eighth, six rupees in the ninth and six rupees and four annas—i.e., the maximum according to the rate fixed in the tenth year. There is nothing to show in the papers so far found as to the result of such attempts. The Gaonzada of 1100 gives 4830 bighas as 'Kirdi Bighas', 4690 of which are Jirayat and 140¼ are Bagayat.

The rest i.e., 17457 Bighas are shown as Balutab Bighas or Nakird Bighas. Compared to these figures those for the year 1235 i.e., 135 years afterwards show 5065 Bighas under the head '*Hajir Mirasdars*' 570 Bighas under *paraganda Mirasdar* while the remaining 17327 bighas are shown under *Gatkuli*. The similarity between the two sets of figures tempts me to infer that the 'kirdi land' (i.e. land which is brought under cultivation some time or other) of 1100 is shown as *Mirasdari* in 1235 figures. The Paragandi *Mirasdari*, I understand, as meaning one which is under cultivation but whose owner is not traceable. While the *gatkuli* land of 1235 I take to be corresponding to the Nakirda land of 1100. If this interpretation be correct then it would mean that during the course of 135 years no appreciable amount of land could not be brought under cultivation because it was used otherwise. 4500 bighas was Inam land and therefore did not form part of the analysis at all. The figure for cultivable waste comes to about 7000 bighas. This big amount of waste land would explain the comparatively large size of this village and the fact that it is known as Kasba and not Mauje.

The village belonged to the old jagir lands of the Bhosales and so was mostly under the rule of the Marathas. But, for a few years since 1092 it must have been under the Muslim rule. In 1092 it is shown under *Sarkar Junnar, Subha Aurangabad, Khyjasta Urfa Daxina*. This title naturally suggests Muslim rule. The *Thalzada* of 1099 also mentions *Khujaste Buniyad* in the heading and suggests Muslim rule. A *Kaulnama* of the same year begins with the word *Padshah Pir* and says that most of the tenants have left the village and so the *Deshmukh* and *Deshpande* were called upon to invite back the tenants and the revenue settlement for the year was made at a modest amount of Rs. 766-12-9. The *Jamabandi* was made with one Govindrao Shekdar, an agent of Janoji Raje Palkar. The *Jamabandi* for the year 1100 also is at a low figure of Rs. 600. It mentions the fact that the *Ganims* (evidently the Marathas) had booted the village and so the tenants had run away from the village. The *Kaulnama* for the year 1128 mentions *Khujaste Buniyad* etc. and also mentions Indapur under *Sarkar Junnar*. A *Kaulnama* issued by Raja Shahu for the same year 1128 to the *Deshmukh* and *Sardeshmukh* says that Shinde and Sabaji Naik Nimbalkar looted the village and made it almost dry and so the *Deshmukhi* right was farmed to two individuals for a sum of Rs. 450/- and the *Sardeshmukhi* also for an equal sum. This would suggest that though the village was under Muslim rule the rights of *Deshmukhi* were given to Shahu. By 1143 however the village seems to have come under the control of Shahu. An Inam grant given by Shahu describes him as *Chhatrapati* etc. and *Swarajya*, *Monglai*, *Babti*, *Akar* etc. are mentioned suggesting thereby the Maratha rule.

In the *rumale* so far examined I have come across revenue returns for about 25 years beginning from 1093 to 1163. The total village receipts for 1093 are Rs. 4481-6-0. For 1095 Rs. 5,305/-. For 1099 the low figures of Rs. 766/- is explained by the *Ganim* activity referred to above. The figure for 1100 is also similarly very low, Rs. 600/- only. But 1104 figure is given as amounting to Rs. 6631/-, 1106-3, 745/-, 1110 Rs. 7,289/-. For 1113

Rs. 7,700/-. The years 1125 and 1127 again show a fall to Rs. 610/- and Rs. 540/- which is explained by the activity of Shinde Nibalkar. The 1128 figure again shows a rise to Rs. 2574/-. The progress seems to have kept up in the next decade because the figure for 1134 is Rs. 2,343/- while that of 1138 is Rs. 4,818/0/0/-. But in the next decade again there is a fall. The figure for 1143 is Rs. 2,812-2-6 but that of 1145 comes down to Rs. 1,508-4-0, of 1146 Rs. 1,647-2-0 and of 1147 Rs. 1,785-12-0. By 1150 that amount shows a rise to Rs. 3,191 and the progress is kept up in the year 1153 which gives the figure Rs. 3,926-8-0. Figure for 1160 shows a still further rise to Rs. 5,262/- but again it drops to Rs. 3,600/- in 1163. Of course the gaps in the above figures will be duly filled when I study the bundles in the remaining rumals. When the revenue returns for a period of one hundred years will be tabulated together they will certainly be very illuminating. From the figures available so far one might say that the receipts varied from year to year according to the area actually under cultivation and the general political and economic condition of the time. For example in 1100 the Bagayat land under cultivation was only 140 bighas and the rate of assessment was Rs. 1-4-0 per bigha while in good years the bagayat assessment varied from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/- per bigha and the Jirayat assessment was rupee one per bigha :

1138	Rs.	7	a bigha	} assessment of Bagayat per bigha.
1143	„	12	do.	
1144	„	10	do.	
1145	„	10	do.	
1146	„	10	do.	
1147	„	10	do.	

There seems no doubt that occasional disturbance of settled agriculture took place due to political troubles. But the extent of the damage seems to have been restricted to the year of trouble only. The years 1125-27 are described as politically unsettling and the village itself was at the mercy of looters. But the figures for 1128 show that things had changed for the better almost immediately. The Bagayat assessment for the year 1128 is shown to be Rs. 12/- per bigha and Jirayat at a rupee per bigha and the total revenue returns amount to Rs. 2574 while the returns of 1127 show only Rs. 540/-.

No definite idea can be formed about the population of the village. Sometimes it is less ; sometimes more. In bad times the tenants left the village. The cultivable area of the whole village was divided into 42 fields and names given to each field. In 1099, out of 42 fields, the owners of 18 were reported to be present, 14 were absent, 4 were reported in other villages, 1 could be traced, and 5 though present were not able to cultivate.

The field names given in 1235 are practically the same. The village had 7 wadis besides the central part. They are named Tarag Wadi, Galad Wadi, Sarade Wadi, Nhavi Wadi, Mali Wadi and Thakur Wadi. The village had 32 big wells and 76 small ones. The number of bullocks was 190 in 1235 and the number of peasants 106.



The payments made from the village treasury included those made to the hereditary village officials and certain other contributions for specific purposes. The amounts paid to the officials do not appear fixed. But they increased or decreased according to the revenue returns of the particular year. Besides, the whole payment was not made in cash but in both kind and cash.

1093	1143
72211 Ain Sal	1792-14-0 Faujdar
300 Rohilkhare	226- 0-0 Sardeshmukhi
69 Deshmukh	475-10-0 Chauthai
200 Kotha Pati	152- 0-0 Deshmukhi
50 lmarat Pati	73- 8-0 Deshpande
90 Unt Pati	
10 Pati	
40 Jejaya	
1145	1147
654 Faujdar	949-1-6
166½ Malguzar	...
18½ Sundry	...
173½ Chauthai	206-4-0
95 Sardeshmukhi	73-0-0
62 Deshmukhi	76-0-0
31 Deshpande	38-0-0
7 Chaugule	7-0-0
	20-0-0 Patil
	10-0-0 Kulkarni

There appears a gradation in the payments made to Sardeshmukh Deshmukh, and Deshpande. The amounts changed from year to year but the ratio appears to have been maintained. Besides the usual payments there appear certain special contributions under special heads. The 1093 return gives several such contributions. The revenue return of 1138 shows a contribution made in the name of one Nimbalkar. The contribution is taken along with land tax and is shown under the same head. It is taken both from Bagayat and Jirayat land holders, as also from the artisans (Mohaturfa) and Balute. But in the case of land holders this contribution is levied on those who pay Rs. 58/- or more.

The total figures for the year are :

Revenue	Asami	Nimbalkar	Total revenue
Rs. 1,447	36	72	1,555

Regarding the incidence of land tax on the rayats no information is available so far. But two facts deserve mention in this connection. The land-tax as well as other contributions were collected not at a fixed rate, and

not from all holders but only from the land that was actually under cultivation and from those holders who paid more than Rs. 50/- as revenue. Secondly there was a good deal of cultivable waste available. Only those lands that paid must have been brought under cultivation by the rayats and it may be presumed that the law of diminishing returns was not in evidence.

The tax collected from the artisans may throw some light on the general economic condition of the people. The fact that these artisans (Mohuturfa) could maintain their shops in the village and pay tax to the Government would suggest the capacity of this village. Particularly the tax on washermen or on goldsmiths is I think suggestive. Here follow the figures for a few years :

Mohuturfa	... 1138	1143	1145	1160
		(in rupees)		
Weavers	... 78	46	32	63¼
Shepherds	... 9	11¼	8	10
Kasar	... 5	...	...	...
Oil Presser	... 5	...	...	...
Goldsmiths	... 4	6¼	5	27
Butchers	... ...	11¼	3	20
Mechanics (Hunnar)	... ...	8¾	5	...
Tambuli	... ...	5	...	4
Mochi	... ...	...	4	...
Tailors	... ...	...	...	5
Balute	... 1138	1143	1145	1160
Carpenter (Sutar)	... 26½	18¾	10	25
Chambar	... 80	70	45	80
Potter	... 31½	10	10	...
Washerman	... 19	30	22	30
Barber	... 9	10	8	20
Mang	... ...	...	5	...
Total revenue for the year	... 4,501½	2,812-2-6	1,508¼	5,262

Besides payments made to the village treasury the rayats had to make certain payments to the hereditary officials both in kind and also in services. The report of 1235 mentions the custom in this respect and it may be presumed that the hereditary officials made these collections throughout the eighteenth century. The Officers are described in the report as watandars or Hakdars i.e. holders of right. The Officials mentioned in the report are Patil Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Nadgauda and Chaugula. Certain items are mentioned as those in which payments in kind were received while items of services are separately mentioned. Certain payments in kind were taken by these officials at the time of certain religious days like Dasra, Sanskrant and Shimga. The Patil took one pair of shoes from the Chambar every year.

The cost for the pair is mentioned as annas eight only. A pair of shoes was also taken by all the other officials. They also got their musical instruments such as Dafa and Tamki mended every year from the chamber. They took services in kind from the Patwekari, Butcher, Kasar, Atar, Liquor seller, Milkaman, Maneri and weaver. They took service from the Mahars and several other Baluta holders whenever suitable occasion arose. They took from the grocers and fruit sellers certain share according to the amount of articles sold. In shops a distinction was made between those which belonged to the residents of the village and those which belonged to outsiders. The outsiders had to pay double the share paid by local people.

Besides these payments in kind from the various professions they took certain dues from the people in social festivals. When a marriage (even a widow marriage) among the Kunbis was celebrated or when a new house was built or when somebody got a new watan or when some family or caste feud was settled the various village officials were to be honoured by suitable presents such as a turban or a cocoanut. The Nadgauda was not to take anything however for these social functions. He was to take dues only from those who attended the weekly market and from the artisans who maintained shops.

Such is the type of information that can be gleaned from the papers of the Jamav section. The paper is based on scanty material and is obviously incomplete but I think that when all the rumals of this village are studied, they will enable me to draw a more complete picture of the village during the eighteenth century.

C. B. JOSHI.

---

# The Indian Museum<sup>1</sup>

---

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as the Chairman of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, inaugurated the first series of the Museum Lectures in November 1913 with an address on *The History of the Indian Museum*. I do not propose today to deal with its history on the lines of the address of Sir Asutosh, but in order to understand the work and constitution of this great institution it is essential to realize that it is not a single homogeneous organism, but an association of scientific and artistic sections. The only common aim of the different departments which are responsible for the various sections is the maintenance of the several public show-galleries, but otherwise they have very different functions to perform and are even under the administrative charges of different departments of the Government of India.

The significance of the word "Museum" or Temple of Muses has changed a great deal since early times. The first recorded institution which bore the name "Museum" was founded by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria about 300 B.C. This institution was not a museum in the modern sense, but in accordance with its etymology, it was a place dedicated to the cultivation of learning, and frequented by a society or academy of learned men who devoted themselves to philosophical studies and improvement of knowledge.

In the earlier ages certain great monarchs, such as Solomon of Jerusalem and Augustus of Rome, assembled together in their palaces curiosities received from different parts of the world, but no records for the existence of any permanent or public collections of natural objects for those times have been traced. The nearest approach to such collections is perhaps to be found in the preservation of remarkable specimens, sometimes associated with superstitious veneration, sometimes with strange legendary stories, in buildings devoted to public worship. As an example of this type may be mentioned the skins of gorillas brought by the navigator Hanno from the West Coast of Africa, which were hung in the temple at Carthage. With the revival of learning in the Middle Ages the collecting instinct, which is inborn in peoples of various nations, but which had not shown itself in any tangible shape so far, suddenly came to the fore, and museums or collections of miscellaneous objects, antiquities as well as natural curiosities, and often having associated with them galleries of sculpture and painting, became fashionable appendages of the establishments of many cultured and wealthy people. All these earlier collections were formed and maintained by private individuals, mostly following the dictates of fashion, but sometimes physicians with a natural taste

---

(1) Lecture delivered at the Indian Museum on 1-3-40.

for biological sciences amassed collections of animals and plants for study. In some cases great merchant princes with trading connections in foreign lands and even ruling princes in their private capacity obtained from foreign lands objects which might be considered curios and displayed them in their houses or palaces. In almost all such cases, however, these collections were maintained for the gratification of the possessor or his personal friends, and rarely, if ever, were associated with any systematic teaching or were available for public benefit. Later when societies for the advancement of knowledge came into existence, they frequently in their corporate capacity included the establishment of a museum as a part of their functions, and the foundation of the Indian Museum in the earlier stages comes under this head.

This great institution was started as a subsidiary activity of the Asiatick Society, Calcutta (now known as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1814 and has gradually developed into not only a single repository for exhibits which in other countries are scattered in museums of Natural History, Archæology, Economical Products and Art, but it has played a very important part in the advancement of knowledge in various branches in the country. Its popular name "Nia Jadughar" indicates its relationship with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which is still generally known as the "Purana Jadughar". Incidentally it may be mentioned that "Jadughar", as applied to a museum, is a misnomer, for this name in other parts of the country is generally restricted to Masonic lodges.

Briefly the Indian Museum may be described as the national repository of collections of Indian antiquities, of the natural history of the country and in fact of most parts of Asia, of the economic products, and the arts and crafts of India. In addition it houses probably the finest collection of Indian pictures of the various Hindu and Mohammedan Schools, as also some representative paintings of modern Indian art. It will thus be seen that the Indian Museum corresponds not only to the British Museum, London, before its Natural History sections were transferred from Bloomsbury to their present quarters in South Kensington, but also includes within its domains the National Picture Gallery of the country as well.

The Indian Museum at present consists of the following sections:— (1) Zoological and Anthropological (Anthropology is given a very wide scope, as it includes within its domain Physical and Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology); (2) Geological and Palæontological; (3) Archæological; (4) Economic Section, including the Botanical department; and (5) the Art Section. The general management of the Indian Museum, which is vested in a board of Trustees, is carried out by the Honorary Secretary with the help of a Committee of Management constituted by the Heads of the various Sections of the Museum. There is no separate Director of the whole Museum, and the different sections are managed respectively by the Director of the Zoological Survey of India, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, the Superintendent of the Archæological Section (an officer of the Archæological Survey of India), the Officer in charge of the Economic Section (an officer of the Botanical Survey of India), and the Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta.

The main Museum building was occupied in 1875, although it was not completed till 1877. It is a quadrangular building in Greek style, and is built of red bricks overlaid with a sandy-grey plaster. The western wing with the main entrance extends for over 500 feet along the Chowringhee and faces the famous Maidan of the city, while its eastern wing abuts on the Sudder Street. It is a very imposing building, of great simplicity and charm, and occupies one of the most central and conspicuous sites in the City of Palaces, as Calcutta is often styled. The four sides of this quadrangular building consist of public galleries on the first two floors, and on each floor there is a broad passage or corridor, enclosed by a colonnade in the Italian style and overlooking the turfed, rectangular open plot of the quadrangle in the centre. A third storey was later added on the top of the western wing for the laboratories and collection of the Natural History Section, now the Zoological Survey of India, and the Lecture Hall of the Museum. In addition to this main building there is the three-storied new wing built in continuation of the western part on its south side, which now houses the public galleries of pre-historic Archæology and Art on its ground and first floors respectively ; and the offices of the Archæological Section and the Picture Gallery and office of the Art Section on the top floor. There is similarly a block on the north-east side of the quadrangle for the Ethnological and Industrial galleries and the Herbarium. Both these wings were built long after the main building and are not quite in harmony with its style, but, as a result of the care exercised by the architects planning them, they do not in any way detract from the majestic simplicity of the main building. The offices and reserve collection of the Geological Survey of India are in a separate building, which is situated in the same compound to the east of the main Museum.

I now propose to take you round the various galleries of the Indian Museum with a view to giving you a general idea of their lay-out and the arrangement of the exhibits, and finally to indicate the very rich nature of its collections. Before doing so, however, it would be useful to refer to two outstanding facts in connection with this great institution. Normally nearly 3,000 persons daily visit the Indian Museum, but on holidays and other festive occasions this number is increased several-fold. The second point, strange as it may seem, is that the most attractive exhibit in the Museum, at least for the great majority of visitors from rural areas, upcountry and places where Western civilization has not had time to penetrate, is the lift. This modern convenience, which is not really an exhibit of the Museum, serves a very urgent need for the staff of certain sections whose offices are situated on the top storey of the very high building of the Indian Museum and for whom it is essential to have a quick means of access. All the same, the lift is a great attraction, and such large crowds gather round its entrances on the ground and first floors that it has been found necessary to employ two special durwans to keep the passages clear.

The visitor enters the entrance hall of the Indian Museum by the main entrance on the Chowringhee where are exhibited some of the best-known schools of sculpture that developed under the patronage of the great Mauryan



*BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.*  
*VOL. LVII.*



The Entrance Hall of the Indian Museum.



emperor Asoka during the 3rd century B.C. ; there are the Rampurwa Lion and Bull Capitals and the Sarnath Lion Capital, as also the Copper Bolt which connected the Lion Capital with its monolithic shaft, and finally the Kalpadruma of "The wish-fulfilling tree" from Besnagar, which is early Sunga or post-Mauryan. In the next Bay are erected two big Yaksha statues with the peculiar "Mauryan polish", from the site of Pataliputra, a colossal female statue from Besnagar, and a plaster cast of the Parkham statue in the Mathura Museum, all of which are to be assigned to the later Mauryan or early Sunga period. It is not proposed to discuss here the artistic qualities of either the great Asokan or the later Sunga Art, but it may be noted that the highly realistic modelling and anatomical treatment of these statues are ample proofs of the great skill of the artisans, while the lost art of the extraordinary polish of these specimens has always been a source of admiration.

From the Entrance Hall the visitor enters the Bharhut Gallery on the right. Here are exhibited a large number of sculptures of the Sunga period of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Several of these are also exhibited in the western corridor of the groundfloor, while two of them have recently been placed on the sides of the entrance to this gallery in the main hall. Among these the most notable are the elaborately carved red sandstone rail pillars, cross bars and copings belonging to the great rail round the Buddhist stupa at Bharhut in the Nogod State, Central India, erected during the 2nd and 1st centuries. On the bas-reliefs on these pillars and rails are carved stories (Jatakas) relating to Gautama Buddha's pre-births and incidents in his last birth. In this gallery is also exhibited a part of the old railing of Bodh Gaya, dating from about the 1st century and plaster casts of friezes of the Jaina cave temples of Udayagiri in Orissa and of a few bas-reliefs of stupas I and II of Sanchi, also of the same date. Some figures of griffins and remains of wooden palisades excavated from Pataliputra are also exhibited in this gallery.

In the next Gallery, the Gandhara, in the same line is exhibited a very fine collection of Græco-Buddhist sculptures and architectural pieces from Gandhara, dating from the 2nd to the 4th century A.D. In addition to images of the Buddha that appear in this school for the first time, the most notable specimens are the bas-reliefs illustrating various events in the life of Buddha, while a votive stupa is placed in the centre of the room ; stupas of this type of varying dimensions are a common feature of the Græco-Buddhist architecture. The large number of images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and architectural pieces show very clearly the Græco-Roman influence on the Gandharan art which resulted from the contact between India and the Roman Empire from the 1st century B. C. onwards.

The next Gallery in the same line is the Prehistoric Gallery. In its southern section are exhibited implements of the palæolithic and neolithic or the Stone Age, consisting of numerous specimens of polished celts and small points and knives found in different provinces of India. For comparative purposes some foreign specimens are also shown. The Neolithic period was succeeded by the Copper Age culture which seems to have extended in

Northern India to almost all the provinces from Kurram in the North-west to Midnapur in the East. A new phase of the Indian Copper Age or the Chalcolithic culture when both copper and stone implements were in use, was discovered in 1922 in Sind. Examples of seals bearing pictographic legends, copper implements, painted pottery, terracotta figurines, shells and other objects excavated from various Sind sites exhibited in this gallery show distinct affinities with similar objects discovered at Susa and Kish and have enabled scholars to date the strata where these antiquities were found to about 3000 B.C. This civilization appears to have been so similar to the contemporaneous Sumerian civilization that one is tempted to postulate the derivation of the one from the other. No evidence of the existence of a Copper Age has been discovered in South India so far, but antiquities of the Iron Age, pottery and implements mostly from prehistoric sites in Coorg and various districts in the Madras Presidency are exhibited. Some rare Egyptian, Babylonian and Athenian antiquities are also displayed in this section, and an Egyptian mummy adorns the centre of the Gallery. Among the miscellaneous antiquities of the historical period is a huge stone box excavated from Piprahwa in the Basti District of the United Provinces, which contained the relics of the Lord Buddha preserved in a very fine crystal bowl, and various other objects found with it. Antiquities excavated at Taxilla, Bhita, Bodh-Gaya, etc., are also exhibited. In two central cases is a representative collection of South Indian bronzes, while a few select plaques from Paharpur and Mahasthan are displayed in two wall-cases. In another case are shown antiquities from Assam and Burma, and a few metal images of the mediæval and later periods from Tibet and Nepal are exhibited in a wall-case. Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions showing the evolution and development of these scripts ranging from about the beginning of the Christian era to the 16th century are placed at the southern end of this hall.

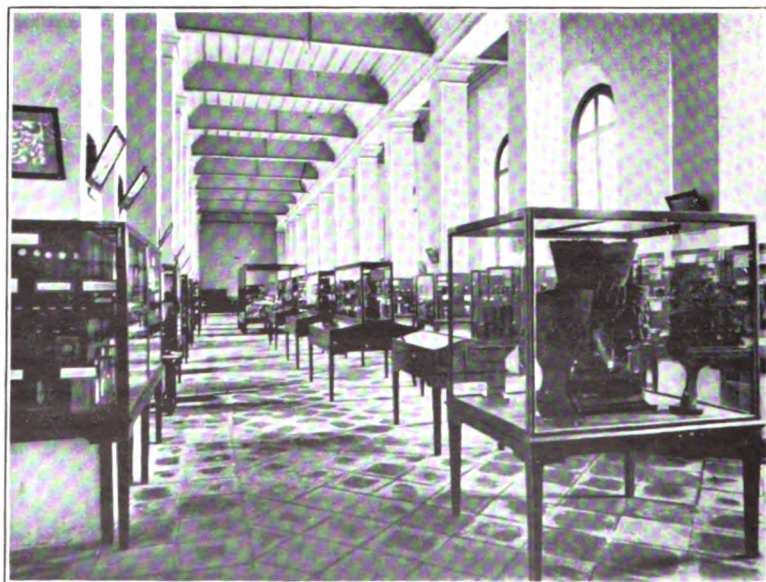
The unique collection of the Indian coins in the Indian Museum is stored in a specially designed Mezzanine room at the south end of this Gallery. This room also houses the very valuable Emerald Bow-ring and Cup of the Emperor Shah Jahan, together with a fine collection of Greek, Roman, Persian and Indian engraved gems from India, Assyrian cylinder seals and Persian and Sussanian gems from Persia and Mesopotamia. The Coin Room is not normally open to the public, but bonafide students and visitors are allowed to inspect the collections by special arrangement with the Superintendent, Archæological Section.

We have now to retrace our steps to the Gandhara Gallery and from there pass on to another extensive gallery of the Archæological Section, known as the Long Gallery, which occupies the groundfloor of the southern wing of the Museum building. In its successive bays are arranged, in chronological order, specimens of sculptures produced by different schools that flourished in India and Indonesia from the beginning of the Christian era to about 1200 A.D. Here are to be seen sculptures of the Mathura School up to the 5th century A.D., some examples of the remarkable Amaravati marbles from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D., Gupta sculptures of 5th and 6th centuries,





The Long Gallery of the Archaeological Section.



The Invertebrate Gallery as seen from the south end.

medieval sculptures from Sarnath, Benares, Mathura and Sutna, Buddhist sculptures of the Pala period from 8th to 12 century, Bengal sculpture belonging to the Pala and Sena periods, etc. More delicate valuable sculptures and bronzes are displayed in show-cases in the centre of the Gallery. Select specimens of the Bihar and Orissa schools of sculpture are exhibited on masonry benches in the southern corridor of the groundfloor outside this gallery, while a few have had to be shown in the first floor corridor.

At the end of the Long Gallery to the east is the Moslem Gallery containing a large collection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions, farmans, sanads, architectural pieces, enamelled tiles, etc. This finishes the survey of the Archæological Section.

We will now pass on to the Zoological Section. The first gallery on the groundfloor which forms the east wing of the main building, is the Invertebrate Gallery which the visitor enters by the south-east door next to the staircase. It is one of the most up-to-date galleries of the Museum in regard to exhibits, labels and show-cases. In it are exhibited examples of all classes of invertebrates or animals without a backbone. Along the western wall beginning with the most simply organised unicellular Protozoa there are arranged the relatively more complex multicellular Sponges, jelly-fishes, corals, sea-anemones, sea-pens, Moss-animalcules, Lamp-shells, clams, mussels, oysters, etc. Along the eastern side are exhibited a great variety of snails and slugs, squibs and cuttle-fish, lobsters, prawns and crabs. The wall-cases at the south end contain exhibits of the main types of segmented worms, viz., earthworms, leeches, etc., while three cases in the southern half of the central row contain exhibits illustrating the external and internal organisation of the exclusively marine group of animals consisting of star-fishes, brittle-stars, sea-urchins, cake-urchins, sea-cucumbers, etc. Among special features of this gallery may be mentioned (1) the large central case in which are displayed a great variety of forms of the reef-forming corals, (2) a group of four cases illustrating associations of certain animals with other animals either for mutual benefit or of one living at the expense of the other, Descriptive drawings of the main features of the life-histories of some of the more important human parasites causing disease to man and various animals are also exhibited here. (3) a case of Indian molluscs of economic value and containing in addition to others examples of the pearl-producing oysters, the window-pane oyster and the right-handed *chank* which is so highly valued by the pious Hindus, (4) two good examples of the Giant Calm of Indian seas, (5) the common Indian edible prawn and lobster in natural colours, (6) various Indian crabs also painted in their natural colours, (7) Neptune's Cup Sponges, and (8) the Giant Crab of Japan. Two small illuminated habitat groups of sea-anemones and other forms of marine life have also been installed recently on two of the pillars in this gallery.

From this gallery the visitor goes to the Insect Gallery which is located in a small room in the north-east corner of the main building, and in which are exhibited a great variety of Indian insects, spiders, millipedes, centipeds, etc. Exhibits of crop-pests, useful insects, natural enemies of mosquito larvæ,

plant-galls, sound-producing organs and secondary sexual characters of insects, etc., are arranged in wall-cases. In the centre of the room there are in two cases good specimens of the nest of a common Hornet and a mound of the common White Ant of Bengal. Another set of exhibits in this gallery consists of models and specimens for illustrating the life-histories of (i) insects such as the Mosquito, Bedbug, etc., which are directly responsible for transmitting diseases of man and animals, and (ii) those which are useful to man in connection with such products as silk, lac, etc.

From this gallery the visitor passes into the Ethnographical Gallery which is situated on the first floor of the extension of the north block of the main building. In this gallery there are various exhibits illustrating the life and habits of the primitive tribes of India and also those pertaining to particular aspects of Indian life and culture. Under the former group are ethnographical objects of the Andamanese, the Nicobarese and various hill-tribes of Assam. This part of the gallery is being reorganised, and life-size figures of each tribe with their dresses, agricultural implements, fighting weapons, etc., are exhibited in separate cases in the centre and in some of the bays. In the east half are cases of various agricultural and fishing implements, specimens of head and foot gear, musical instruments, ornaments, weapons, etc. In this gallery is also exhibited the most complete collection of Indian musical instruments. In the western half are shown various types of weaving apparatus, toys, articles of religious rites, baskets, pottery, domestic utensils, grinding and winnowing apparatus, models of mills, etc. Recently a very representative series of bronze casts of the heads of different tribes of India prepared by a well known English artist, Miss Milward, has been acquired for this gallery. These are temporarily exhibited in wall-cases at the east end, but it is hoped that it would before long be possible to arrange them in suitable cases with proper labels when it would be possible for both students and the visiting public to study them properly.

The visitor must now turn back to the corridor through the Insect Gallery and climb up to the first floor by the staircase in the north-east corner of the quadrangle. The first gallery to be visited on this floor is the Invertebrate Fossil Gallery of the Geological Survey of India, which forms the major part of the north wing of the main building. In this gallery fossil invertebrate from various sites in India are arranged stratigraphically, while foreign species belonging to the well-known Klipstein collection are displayed in accordance with their zoological position. The very rich collection of fossil plants from the Gondwana system, the Productus Limestone fossils from the Salt Range and other areas, and for want of space in the Vertebrate fossil gallery on the groundfloor two very large vertebrate fossils of a land turtle and the large Pleistocene Irish elk are also exhibited in this gallery.

The next gallery to be visited is the Small Mammal Gallery, which is situated immediately above the Insect Gallery. In this are exhibited a large variety of small mammals such as porcupines, squirrels, marmots, guinea-pigs, rats, mice, shrews, moles, and the only representative of ant-eaters found in India. There are also specimens of the more primitive forms of Mammals,





The Ethnological Gallery as seen from near its entrance.  
(See p. 60)



The Gallery of the Industrial Section as seen from near its entrance.  
(See p. 61)





such as Duck-bill, Spiny Ant-eater, Kangaroos, Opossum etc., none of which are found in India. In the centre in a large case are exhibits illustrating differences in the structure of the skulls and skeletons of some of the more important families of Mammals.

The visitor next passes over a bridge into the large gallery of the Industrial Section which occupies the second floor of the Sudder Street wing over the Ethnological Gallery. In this gallery are exhibited specimens of commercial and industrial interest arranged under the following headings:—

1. Food and fodder which include cereals, pulses and spices, vegetables, fruits, etc. ;
2. Medicinal plants and indigenous medicines of vegetable origin ;
3. Vegetable fibres and silk ;
4. Timbers ;
5. Oilseeds and industrial oils ;
6. Gums, resins, Gutta purcha, rubber, etc. ;
7. Dyes and tanning materials ;
8. Tea and coffee ; and
9. Miscellaneous products, such as lac, paper manufacture materials, matches, Papier Mache, etc.

Special attention may be directed to the exhibits of indigenous vegetable drugs, as also their alkaloids and other active principles, while vegetable fibres such as cotton, jute, etc., whether used for cordage, for weaving or for other purposes are also exhibited together with exhibits of the processes for the manufacture of the final products. Exhibits of silk, as produced in various parts of India, tea, lac, raw materials for paper manufacture, specimens of oil-seeds and finally selected wood samples of 30 of the more important commercial timbers of the country deserve special mention.

From here the visitor must turn back through the Small Mammal Gallery and pass through the north entrance next to the staircase into the Large Mammal Gallery which occupies the whole of the eastern wing of the main building. In this gallery are exhibited mammals of all the larger groups, such as the Cat tribe, the hoofed mammals, the monkeys and man, while in a railed enclosure down the centre are exhibited the skeletons of various mammals. In the centre of the enclosure is a square show-case containing casts and models of whales, the marine porpoises and the freshwater Gangetic porpoise. Hanging from the ceiling over this case is the skeleton of the rare smaller Indian Fin-Whale, while south of it is exhibited an albino Tiger. East of it along the wall are arranged various animals of the Cat-group, such as tiger, lion, panther, cats, etc. At the north end of the centre is a group of skeletons of three Indian elephants, one of which is the largest known specimen, while next to it is the skeleton of the elephant which was used by Lord Curzon in the Delhi Durbar of 1902. A stuffed specimen of a young female elephant from the Assam forests is also placed next to them. Along

the northern side of the gallery are exhibited a series of marine carnivores such as the seal and the walrus. A very good stuffed specimen of a rhinoceros from Nepal is exhibited in one of the cases along the western wall. In cases in the same row are exhibited various types of hoofed mammals. On the walls are exhibited horns and antlers of cattle, deer and other ungulates, several of which are of record size.

Leaving this Gallery by its south gate and passing along the corridor the visitor next enters the Bird, Reptile and Amphibian Gallery. In the east half of this gallery are displayed various Indian species of birds ; a few foreign specimens are also included to complete a survey of the Bird Kingdom. A new method of mounting birds on panels for exhibition has recently been adopted in this gallery. At the east end of the gallery is a specially designed and illuminated habitat group of storks found in the United Provinces, which was specially set up after careful studies in the field and which makes it possible to visualize the conditions under which these storks live. Habitat groups of this kind are a very attractive feature of the modern museums, but besides being expensive a great deal of skill and time is necessary for their preparation. In the centre of this gallery there is a block of show-cases containing exhibits of (1) a Lammergeyer which can fly, and a Cassowary which is devoid of the power of flight, (2) various races of domesticated Fowls and Pigeons, (3) a series of mounted specimens illustrating the characteristic poses, display of colour, etc., of birds during courtship, (4) a cock-pheasant's courtship dance, and (5) birds common in the Darjeeling District. In the western half of the gallery on the northern side are exhibited the various kinds of frogs, toads, etc., or Amphibians, including the Giant Salamander of Japan and the only tailed Amphibian of India. Various kinds of Turtles, Lizards and Gekkoes are also exhibited along this wall, while the wall-case on the south side contains exhibits of various terrestrial, freshwater and marine snakes, including the large Python and the highly dreaded King-Cobra. On a board are exhibited a large number of bangles, rings, etc., all of which, forming a mass weighing 15 lbs. 14 ozs., were found in the stomach of a man-eating crocodile near Cuttack in India. In the centre are exhibited fine examples of Gharials and True Muggers and a Leathery Turtle. Next to these is a wall-case containing several specimens of the large Indian Rays.

From the western end of the Bird, Reptile and Amphibian Gallery the visitor passes into the Small Fish Gallery which is situated directly above the Gandhara Gallery. In the centre is a striking exhibit consisting of some of the largest known examples of Sharks, Skates and Rays known from the Indian waters, including the man-eating shark of the Gangetic Delta, the hammer-headed shark and Saw-fish. The small desk cases contain special exhibits of various types of specialised Fishes, fishes of the deep sea, of hill-streams and aquarium fishes. In the wall-case to the east are exhibited various representatives of the primitive Chordates, including the worm-like *Balanoglossus*, the bag-like Sea-squirt, the lancet-like fish and the fish-like Lamprey. The case along the southern half of the western wall contains the skeletal parts of some fishes, while the corresponding half on the northern side





The Art Gallery—looking north.



The Art Gallery—looking south.

contains examples of various living fossil fishes. These living fossils are of particular interest, as they are the only living representatives of certain types which were the dominant forms in the earlier eras. The remaining wall-cases along the northern wall contain special exhibits of air-breathing fishes, breeding habits and development of certain fishes, larvicidal fishes, flight of fishes, etc. In the cases along the northern half of the eastern wall are exhibited the common edible fishes of the Calcutta markets, while on the walls are hung up specially large specimens of different species of fishes. Along one side of the entrance to the Art Gallery has been installed an illuminated habitat case of a Mud-Skipper from Port Canning, showing how this fish is capable of breathing air direct from the atmosphere and prefers to live on muddy ground rather than in water.

The visitor next enters the Art Gallery which lies to the south of the Fish Gallery over the Prehistoric Archæological Gallery. The exhibits in this gallery are arranged primarily under three main heads: (1) textiles, (2) metal, wood, ceramic wares, etc., and (3) pictures. In the northern half of the gallery the exhibits consist mainly of textiles arranged as (a) fabrics decorated in the loom, and (b) those ornamented after they leave the loom. The latter consist of examples of wax cloth, wax-printing, tie-dyeing, cotton printing and various types of embroidered cloths from all parts of India. The collection of Indian embroideries is particularly rich, and various fine examples of kinkhobs, shawls and brocades are exhibited. In the southern half of the gallery are displayed metal, stone, glass, earthen, lacquer, leather and ivory wares, Papier-mache objects, painted woods, inlaid woods, wood-carvings and glass mosaics. Amongst metal wares there are very good examples of indigenous statutory, brass and copper wares from Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal and various parts of India, damascened and encrusted wares, enamelled, niello and *bidri*, silver and gold wares and imitation gold ornaments. It would require several discourses to describe in any detail the rich variety of the material exhibited in the gallery, but a few of the outstanding exhibits may be noted. The exquisite Tibetan Banner of applique work, the Bhavnagar House which is a faithful representation in wood of a Rajput Chief's palace in Kathiawar and is a very good specimen of a purely Hindu style of wood carving, Lamp Stands from Madura and the necklace and girdle made of human thigh bones from Tibet, the ivory model of the Taj and the screen carved out of stone, together with the enamelled *hooka* with *chillim* belonging to the Nawab of Oudh, etc., are some of the objects to which attention may be invited. The Nahar and Carmichael collections of Indian and Tibetan art among which are prayer wheels, ornaments, scabbards and writing tables, and Tankas and pictures from the same area are exhibited in a separate room at the extreme end of this gallery.

This finishes the survey of all the galleries on the first floor of the Museum and the visitor has now to retrace his steps and walk along through the Fish, Amphibian, Reptile and Bird Gallery along the corridor to the main staircase where the marble statue of Queen Victoria presented by the late Maharajah of Burdwan is placed. Passing down the staircase to the south of the statue

the visitor comes back into the main Entrance Hall of the Museum on the first floor and turning northwards along the west corridor to the north corridor. In this corridor are exhibited specimens of various types of Indian building stones as also a part of the large fossil tree, some 70 feet long, which was found in the rocks of the Ranee-gunj series. From this corridor the visitor enters the large Rock and Mineral Gallery which occupies the major part of the northern wing of the Museum on this floor, and in which is exhibited a very rich collection of different types of rocks found in India and adjacent countries. This collection is more comprehensive than spectacular, but is of especial value for study purposes.

Passing along towards the east the visitor comes to a small squarish gallery known as the Meteorite Gallery in which is exhibited the largest collection of meteorites in Asia and also one of the most important in the whole world. Several rare iron meteorites also are on view and there are in addition several specimens of structural geology and some economic exhibits, such as those relating to coal and manganese. Maps illustrating phases of Indian geology are displayed on its walls.

To the south of this gallery is the comparatively large Vertebrate fossil gallery also known as the Siwalik Gallery. In this are exhibited representatives from that very rich storehouse of Tertiary vertebrates, the Siwalik beds situated along the foot-hills of the Himalayas. A few foreign fossil specimens are also exhibited, and a chart illustrating the ancestry of man was recently put up in this gallery.

This completes the survey of the various public galleries of the Indian Museum. In this account I have not included the Picture Gallery which lies on the top floor of the Museum and which contains a very rich collection of pictures representing various schools of Indian paintings. Visitors have to obtain special permission from the Curator of the Art Section for visiting this gallery.

I am afraid I have given you a rather disjointed account of the very varied and extensive exhibits in the various galleries of the Indian Museum, but nothing better was possible in the course of a single lecture. I have not taken you behind the scenes with a view to explaining the very intricate and elaborate task of preparing the exhibits, of arranging them in a form suitable for exhibition, preparation of descriptive labels, and hundred-and-one other details connected therewith.

The Indian Museum, with its very rich and evergrowing collections and the important research work carried out in its different Sections, has played a very influential part in the cultural advance of the country. Started originally as the private museum of a Society, it has grown into an Imperial institution of vast proportions, and is at present the headquarters of several scientific surveys of the country. Like similar institutions in other countries, it is at the present moment congested and urgently needs more staff, space and funds for its expansion. Unfortunately the exhibition space in the Museum is overcrowded. In most of the galleries the show-cases are of an antiquated and unsuitable type, and the lighting also in most of them is very poor. As the

The Meteorite Gallery.



*BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.*  
*VOL. LVII.*





late Dr. Flower, a great authority in museums, rightly remarked, "A museum is like a living organism—it requires continual and tender care. It must grow or it will perish ; and the cost and labour required to maintain it in a state of vitality is not yet by any means fully realised or provided for". Every specimen in a museum is exhibited with a definite purpose, and the main lesson to be derived from the exhibited specimen must be distinctly indicated by the label affixed to it. Further, every specimen exhibited must be the best of its kind, and all available skill and care must be spent upon its preservation and exhibition. All these questions require a very large technical and highly trained staff and funds both for the maintenance and the further development of the museum. Unfortunately the growth of the Indian Museum, which is the only national institution of its kind in the country, is, for want of funds, space and staff, greatly hampered, and Dr. Brown Goode's maxim regarding museums seems to be entirely lost sight of in reference to the maintenance of this institution. He remarked—"One thing should be kept prominently in mind by any organisation which intends to found and maintain a museum, that the work will never be finished, that when the collections cease to grow they begin to decay. A finished museum is a dead museum, and a dead museum is a useless museum".

BAINI PRASHAD.

---

## Currency in Orissa

---

**B**EFORE the acquisition of the Orissa by the English from the Marathas the prevailing currency was in cowries. On its acquisition the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack entered into engagements with the Rajahs and fixed the *peishcush* or revenue to be paid by them in terms of cowries. The Collector of Cuttack writes to Thomas Graham, Actg. President and Members of the Board of Revenue under date 9th June, 1806 :

"Gentlemen,

On the 7th of December, 1803 the Commissioners entered into engagement with the Kunka Rajah to demand to more than 84,840 Khwans of cowries at the rate of 4 Khwans 2 pans to the rupee or Rupees 20,586-8-10. I am directed to make settlement with the Rajah."

From another letter it appears that the Commissioner entered into engagement with the Raja of Neelghorri (Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurrychandan) to pay a Peishkush of 23,400 Khwans of cowries. Here is a list of engagements with Rajas, Zemindars and Khundytes showing the payment or revenue in cowries :

			Rajah of the fort of	Amount of Peishkush.	
				Kh.	P. G.
Ram Kissen Deo	...	...	All	1,13,436	0 0
Ram Chunder Mehendar Bahadur	...	...	Dekanal	23,125	0 0
Sree Chundun	...	...	Bankee	20,135	0 0
Nursing Bhamerbur Ray	...	...	Kundiapara	19,100	0 0
Gour Churn Bhunj	...	...	Jourmo	3,000	0 0
Maun Dhata	...	...	Niagurh	26,450	0 0
Maun Sing Huree Chundun	...	...	Nursingpoor	6,601	0 0
Bajur Dhur Narinder	...	...	Runpoor	6,000	0 0
Jorwar Sing Murdraj	...	...	Angool	7,500	0 0
Kissen Chund Murdraj	...	...	Hindool	2,500	0 0
Bhagrutte Hurree Chundun Tekait	...	...	Talchare	4,715	0 0
Chumput Sing	...	...	Tiggreh	4,000	0 0
Sree Churn Bewirtah Patnaik	...	...	Autgur	28,111	13 0
Pindakee Mungraj	...	...	Burrambah	6,340	0 0

The Kists were Choit, Jite and Asar.

In another list (from Balasore Records) we find the following engagements :—

Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurry Chundun—Nilgiree	...	Rs. 23,400- 0-0
Janardan Bhunj—Keonjur ... ..	...	„ 12,000- 0-0
Modoooodum Narinder Mohapater, Zemindar of Chedra	..	8,892-13-0

The rate of exchange per Arcot rupee in the case of Keonjur and Nilgiree being @ 4 Kh. and of Chedra being @ 3 Kh. 14 p.

Col. George Harcourt was appointed to be the Commissioner for the settlement of the Provinces, and J. Melvill, Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack in 1803. They formed the Board of Commissioners.

In a letter dated the 21st March, 1804 addressed to the Board of Commissioners J. Hunter, Actg. Collector, Southern Division, Cuttack advises measures to be taken to prevent the secreting of cowries by merchants who do so to enhance their value and thereby gain profits.

In a letter addressed to R. Ker, Collector of Balasore (Northern Division, Cuttack) under date 10th March, 1805 T. Fortescue, Secretary to the Commissioners, informs him that the Board approves of the abolition of the duty on cowries recommended by him.

A proclamation date 10 October, 1804 contains instructions to Collectors for making the settlement of land revenue of the Province of Cuttack from the commencement of the Umlee year 1212. They were to bind the Zamindars and Landholders to pay their revenue in rupees, failing that in cowries, the rate of exchange being 4 khwans and 2 pans for one Calcutta Sicca rupee (see Collr's Vol. 413; Commissioners' vols. I & III; letter to Charles Graeme, Collector of Jugunnath under date 10th Nov. 1804). The rate of exchange for Arcot rupees was also fixed at Rs. 107-8 Arcot rupees = 100 Calcutta Sicca rupees.

T. Fortescue, Secretary to Commissioners sent (8th Nov., 1804) to R. Ker, Collector Balasore a copy of Chief Secretary J.: Lumsden's letter to Col. Harcourt on the subject of receiving subscription to loan advertised in in the Calcutta Gazette of 25th October in Arcot rupees at this rate of exchange. In a letter of May 28, 1806 there is mention that engagement for payment of revenue was to be made under sec. 13 Reg. XII, 1805 and the revenue was to be paid in Calcutta Sicca rupees of the 19 Sun.

In a letter of the 18th Nov., 1804 C. Graeme is advised to make a payment of 5000 khwans to the Raja of Puttea on account of rent of certain villages which were said to appertain to him but which were then (1804) in the possession of Government. Similarly he was directed to pay 6000 kahwans of cowries to Unneeroodh Ray, son of Beerkishor Deo, deceased Rajah of Khoordah, which was the annual sum granted by the Mahrattas for the support of his family (1806).

There was a reluctance to receive payments in rupees. Charles Graeme, writes to T. Fortescue (5th Feb., 1805) that Dolgovinda, the Ruth Purcha, who was given cash of Rs. 285-15 as. 3 g. equivalent to cowries 10,606 ka—15 pans—3 gundas, refused to take the amount in rupees and demanded as cowries had become extremely scarce, and shroffs were unwilling to part with them at rates fixed by Government. The Secretary in a letter dated 14th April, 1805 instructed him to "compel Tahsildars under his authority to give all the cowries collected by them for the use of the Ruth and the Temple of Jugunnath to Dolgobind for the preparation of Ruth." Charles Graeme reports in a letter dated 18th May, 1805 that in the mofussil rents were collected in cowries which were paid to merchants for assignment on their houses at Cuttack @ 4 gandas for kahawn.

There was some difficulty in procuring cowries. Govt. was anxious to introduce Rupees and pice, and we have already seen that the Zamindars and Landholders were directed to pay their revenue in rupees, but when it was not possible, in cowries. The shroffs disposed of cowries at the rate of 3 kh. 4 pans per rupee, therefore "Ryots and Landholders would rather sell cowries to shroffs than allow Govt. to have them at 4 kh. 2 p." (Letter dated 11th April, 1805).

In a letter dated 7th May, 1805 the Secretary to the Commissioners sent to all the Collectors circular order regarding the currency of Muraheedabad 19 Sun sicca rupees in the Province of Cuttack and informed them that the Bengal Regulations would be applicable.

James Hunter, Collector of Pilgrim Tax, wrote a letter dated 26th April, 1806 to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, saying that at Jugunnath the Govt. Nirukh for cowries was 4 kahun for sicca rupee, but it was difficult to procure cowries even @ 3 kh. 8 p. for rupee at that place. He applied to the Collector of Cuttack for ordering his Tehsildar to send cowries worth Rs. 1,000/- for payment to carpenters but the latter declined to furnish cowries.

Major Fletcher reported (17th—20th Nov., 1805) that the general currency in the Khoordah district was cowries or shells. When Fletcher proposed to send Fanams to George Webb, the Collector of Cuttack, in payment of public revenue, the latter told him that he could never receive, nor give receipt for them, as they were not legal currency.

The introduction of sicca rupees, caused dissatisfaction. The following letter is interesting :—

Gentlemen,

By a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government under date the 29th of October, 1804 the Arcot Rupee was ordered to be received at the exchange of 107 Arcot Rupees and eight annas for one Hundred Calcutta Rupees. The rate is now well established, but on proceeding to the Table of Rates contained in section 14, Regulation 35, 1700

ingly apprehensive that a very serious dissatisfaction will arise among the cultivators.

" . . . . I expect this to be the cause of many leaving the Province.

"The dissatisfaction of the military at receiving seven kind of Rupees all different in number and value has been represented to me as very great.

Therefore, I beg leave to recommend that no alteration be made in the rate of receipt of the Arcot Rupee till the Sicca Rupee in sufficient quantity be introduced or at least till the expiration of the year 1215 umlee.

Zillah Cuttack

Revenue Dept.

The 30th June, 1806.

I have etc. . . . .

Geo. Webb

Collr.

On the other hand many coins of sorts were current, the rate of exchange of which was indeterminate. In a letter dated 22nd October, 1804 J. Hunter writes from Pimplee (Pipli) to the Secretary to the Commissioners asking for instructions regarding the rate of exchange at which he would "receive rupees coming under the denomination of Nagpooree, Teepooshahee, and those coined at Muchhooa Bunarus (*sic*), as they are not included in the denomination of Dusmasha whose value was formerly fixed at 3 kahun 14 pan for Rupee." In the Balasore District Nagpooree and Chitterpooree coins were current (*vide* letter dated 27th Aug., 1805).

From a statement of collections on account of Pergana Puttashpore as per monthly Treasury Acct. from October 1803 to May 1805 we find the following :

Pergannah.	Total realisation Rupees of sorts.	Sicca Rupees.	Bonant Rupees.	French rupees	Gurnaul rupees.	Noera rupees.	Deduct batta as per Jama Waddi Bakree.	Net amount of Sicca rupees.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Puttaspore	17,868 0 0	1,196 0 0	...	...	150	16,522	1,506 9 9	16,961 6 11
Commarda Chaur	6,395 13 10	3,148 13 10	240	281	76	2,718	247	6,148 13 10

Mr. Webb wrote to William Egerton, Accountant to the Board of Revenue (on June 26, 1806) requesting the favour of his procuring for him directions at what rate he was to receive the kuttuckey rupees as they were not included in the list of rates of Regulation 35 of 1793.

From a correspondence with H. Stone, Sub-treasurer (1807) we find mention of different kinds of coins: viz., old Zahazee Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttackey, Soorty, Froossey, Dasmasee (Dusmasa Rupees 4822-5-12 making Sicca rupees 4485-10-0) and Muchlybundy rupees.

The following circular letter was received by R. Mitford, the Actg. Collector of Cuttack in July, 1810, from the Board of Revenue for his guidance in receiving 19 Sun Sicca coins in his treasury :

Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council in the Public Department under date the 20th June, 1810.

Accountant General's letter dated 16th June 1810.

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

Para. 6—With a view therefore to obviating the abuses which may be practised under the present mode of receiving coins at public Treasuries I would beg leave to recommend that the Rupees received at the public Treasuries shall not only be examined in the manner directed by the orders of Govt. of the 19th September, 1805 but that it shall also be the duty of the proper officers to examine the Rupees separately, and to reject all those which are more deficient in weight than in the proportion of six annas per cent., and that the remainder be then weighed by fifties according to the present rule.

The Collector of Cuttack reported to the Board of Revenue (20th Sep., 1810) that Sicca rupees were by no means in sufficient currency and circulation and he suggested a plan to remedy the difficulty—"that in all future despatch of Treasure to the General Treasury he may be empowered to offer to the respectable merchants and landholders the sicca rupees for Hoondeans payable to that Treasury thereby prohibiting the return of sicca to the Presidency or exportation from the Zillah". As the landholders experienced difficulty in procuring sicca coins it was found advisable to extend the period for the receipt of rupees of sorts for another year ; accordingly, under sec. 9, Reg. 4, 1807 the Collector was authorised to issue a publication notifying that rupees of sorts would be received at the treasury till the expiration of the current year 1218.

Cowries began to fall in price. A account of the progressive fall in prices and its disastrous effect on Zamindars and ryots is contained in a letter addressed by W. Trower, Collector of Cuttack to W. Egerton, Acct. General under date 1st December, 1812, extracts from which are given below :—

3rd Para—The fall in the price of cowries has been progressive. At the time of the promulgation of Regulation 12, 1805 by Section 13 of which the receipt of cowries in payment of revenue was restricted to a certain period they bore a higher price than what was the Govt. rate of exchange being K/3 P/14 G/10 for the rupee . . . . the fact is that cowries had never been in sufficient quantities to admit of the Revenues being paid in them.

4—Mr. Fauquier did not allow a certain Zamindar to pay his Revenues in cowries as his object was to create delay as he had no sufficient cowries to pay up  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the balance amounting to Rs. 1100/-.

## 5—Rate of Exchange—

1214 umlee	...	...	3 14 10
1215 ..	...	...	4 0 10
1216 ..	...	...	4 6 0

Mr. Fauquier stated to the Commissioner—"that the quantity of specie brought in this district in the year 1214 and two years antecident (?) had diminished its value."—that might have accounted for cowries keeping their price as long as they were received in payment of Revenue, but as soon as it was known that after a certain period they would not be received in payment at the Collector's Treasury, the rupee became from that moment of greater value than it had ever before been, and the cowrie fell in proportion—but as there still remained a certain period for the receipt of cowries at the Treasury and as an idea prevailed, that perhaps even when that period elapsed a longer time might be granted, the Shroffs immediately took advantage of the fall in the value of the cowrie and purchased them up at the rate of 5 and 6 kohuns the rupee and buried them in their houses thereby to make (profit ?) largely by their purchase, they were, however, disappointed in their expectations and many of them failed and were obliged to quit the District, and their hordes of cowries were thrown open to the market, thus affording a second cause for their Depreciation, by the unexpected quantities exposed for sale, and this is probably the only time that the cowries could have been purchased in any quantity.

## 6th—Rate of exchange for the last 3 years has been nearly as follows—

1217	...	...	Rs. 5 0 0
1218	...	...	.. 5 12 0
1219	...	...	.. 6 8 0 & even 7 kahuns.

notwithstanding this fall, the Zemindars could not, if option were given them, pay their revenues in cowries—"and I am given to understand that it was never formerly the case, that in the time of the Marhattas tho' the accounts were kept in cowries that the revenue was paid in the rupees—tho' not doubt at that time there was a much greater demand for cowries as the Marhatta troops were paid in that currency.'

7th— . . . . The Zamindars in this District are generally poor and needy and yet inclined to be extravagant, and when their kists fall due they are under the necessity of applying to the shroffs for advances, this advance is readily granted provided the shroffs are allowed to make their own terms—which are exorbitant, for instance, in advancing ten rupees to a Zamindar they will enter him in their books Dr. for 70 Cawuns of Cowries, but they will only receive back the rupees, at the Govt. rate of Exchange 4 k. 2 p. The Zamindars to enable them to bear their loss are obliged to pursue a similar line of conduct with their undertenants and the consequence is the frequent desertions of the District that take place from people being ruined—Thus it may in fact be that the cause in the Depreciation in the value of

cowries arises from the Arbitrary Demands of the Shroffs from the Zamindars who are obliged to force their undertenants to pay them the cowries at the same rate for the rupee and there appears to me no other method of affording relief to this distressed class of people than in endeavouring to supersede altogether the currency of Cowries, by the introduction of copper pice, which might be easily, I conceive, effected by the following means . . . ."

The rapacity of the shroffs alluded to in the extract quoted above appears from another letter dated 12th July, 1813 (no. 160, para 5). "It is customary in these districts for the shroffs and the monied men, who are few in number to advance the Zamindars for their current expenditure, at such times as they observe the several crops of the seasons to be in state of forwardness and even then the money is advanced at a most exorbitant rate, for 80 rupees advanced a bond for 100 rupees is granted bearing interest at 12 per cent. . . . . Ruin overtakes the Zamindars when crop fails as it did last year."

It may be of interest to note here that E. Watson, Fourth Judge, Calcutta Court of Circuit, giving in his report dated 3rd May, 1817 an account of the causes of discontent that led to the disturbance of 1817 commonly known as the Khurdah rebellion says that though the main cause of the disturbance was the treatment accorded to the Khurdah Raja, yet the heavy loss to which the Zemindars were subject from the depreciation of price of cowries was one of its causes.

J. W. Sherer, Acct. General in his report dated 18th July, 1817 to H. Mackenzie, Secretary to Govt. Territorial Department while commenting on the depreciation of cowries observes (para 42): "The truth appears to be that the existence of cowrie currency no longer receivable in payment of revenue has been made the occasion of exaction and oppression."

The Acct. General sent the following letter to Mr. Trower (no. 200 dated 8th Feb., 1813):—"Having submitted your letter dated 1/2 last to the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Mint Master has been directed to remit to you the sum of Sicca Rupees Thirty Thousand in Copper money to enable you to disburse the same in the purchase of cowries for the Temple in the manner suggested in the 8th para of your letter and also in payment of Poolbundy advances or such other disbursements as may appear to you to be best calculated for checking the depreciation on cowries. Please report the effect which such remittance may have in attaining the object proposed in order that further remittances in pice may be made. . . . ."

From a letter (dated 17th July, 1815) of A. J. Colvin, Joint Magistrate at Balasore and Assistant Collector of Govt., Customs it appears that cowries had become extremely scarce now, there being 15 cowries in cash balance of Rs. 3,552-7-15 (on 2nd June, 1815) in the Treasury of the Custom Dept.

The following kinds of coins were current in the district as it appears from an account of short weight coins despatched by Mr. A. Stirling Actg., Collector of Cuttack (on 29th December, 1820) to the Mint Master for re-



coinage—(Besides wholes, halves and quarters of Siccas)—Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttack, Gurnally (?), Surat, Naugpore rupees.

H. Shakespeare, Actg. Superintendent of Police in the Lower Province in a letter dated the 5th April, 1821 writes to the Magistrate of Balasore describing the process of drilling and debasing silver coin resorted to by criminals.

In a letter dated 28th April, 1823 the Acct. General informed W. Dent, Dy. Collector of Balasore that Captn. E. R. Broughton (Supdt. of Jaggernath New Road) was directed to forward to him 74,000 kahans of cowries of which he was requested to take charge, and to deliver to J. A. Schultz, Superintendent of the Chooramun Canal. As the cowries were broken he declined to take charge, ultimately he received into the treasury 39,204 kahans and 5 pans.

In a letter dated 27th December, 1823 addressed to A. Stirling, Actg. Deputy Collector, Balasore, we find mention of a statement prepared of selected cowries by Juggomohan Singh, Mohurer of his office, amounting to Rs. 41,856-4-0, which were safely brought under a military escort.

Regarding orders issued from the Acct. General's office on the subject of receiving light, chipped or otherwise debased rupees. H. Ricketts, Collector of Balasore, writes to G. Stockwell, Commissioner of Revenue, 9th Dn. Cuttack under date 2nd Sep. 1831 :— . . . Para 4.—“By the recent order all old rupees more than 6 annas per cent below the standard and all new rupees 1 a. 8 p. below the standard are to be received by weight only as bullion ; and Re. 1/- per cent is also to be demanded, so that supposing a zamindar presents 1000 rupees less in weight than 1000 standard rupees by 10 sicca weight, 20 sicca rupees will be demanded from him 10 to cover the deficiency in weight and 10 the percentage on 1000 light rupees at 1 per cent.” He recommends postponement on account of the hardship—Money was scarce in Balasore and he gave reasons given for it.

Although cowries had greatly depreciated in price still they were in demand in 1833. H. Ricketts, the Collector of Balasore, while giving a graphic description of the terrible misery and loss of life sustained by mahals on the sea coast from the hurricane of the 31st October, 1831 and irruption of the sea to R. Hunter, Commissioner under date 5th January, 1833, alludes to the scarcity of money, and the demand of cowries :

Para 8.—“The great scarcity of money I regard as the chief cause of distress which universally prevails and which existed before the hurricane happened. The existence of that scarcity is proved by the difficulty with which the revenue is realised, the low price of every article of commerce, and the ruinous interest demanded on a loan of money even when the ultimate recovery is certain. In 1806 cowries in which the revenue had previously been paid were committed (commuted?) for rupees at the exchange of 4 kawuns of cowrie for a rupee, at the present time the exchange price is 8 and sometimes 9 kawuns per rupee. The value of cowries has certainly depreciated, but the demand for them still exists, as the annual imports show,

and I believe the difference to be as much occasioned by the enhanced value of rupee as the lessened value of cowrie.

Para 9.—“Twenty four per cent is the interest commonly demanded and paid when the substance of the borrower is unquestionable, and in addition to that interest from persons whose resources are doubtful, a deposit of property is demanded.

To J. Doyly, Collector of Balasore, was sent an extract of letter of the Deputy Secretary to Govt. of the Territorial and Financial Dept., under date 19th May, 1829 to the effect that “the Governor-General in Council has resolved that from the present date all Deputation allowances are to be fixed and passed in Sonat rupees ; that is where the Deputation allowance has (been) heretofore granted in sicca rupees it will henceforth be authorised at the same number of Sonat rupees.”

J. Dorin, Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William, Calcutta wrote a letter dated 25th January, 1836 directing the Collector of Balasore to form all future settlements of the land revenue in Company's Rupees, annas, and paces instead of in sicca rupees, annas, gundas and kowries or sicca rupees, annas and paces as heretofore.

A notice was issued from the Financial Dept. on the 10th February, 1836 that from and after the 1st May, 1836 all Govt. accounts would be kept in Company's rupees. The same arrangement would take effect from and after the same date (1st May, 1836) at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (i.e. in pursuance of Act no. XVII of 1835). According to section 4 of the Act Company's Rupees were to be received as equivalent to Bombay and Madras rupees which were hitherto equivalent to Rs. 94-13-3 and Rs. 93-1-8 sicca rupees respectively for every hundred rupees.

In a letter dated 29th April, 1836, the Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William writes to the Collector of Balasore—“You are quite right in having sicca rupees 20 as equal to Company's rupees 21-5-4 on account of the Commissioner's subscription to the Civil Fund, the deduction made by the Civil Auditor in Company's rupees being at the rate of 6-10-8 per cent.”

According to Govt. Notice in Financial Dept. (dated 23rd March, 1836) Sicca rupees were declared not to be a legal tender from the 1st January, 1838 but were to be taken at all Govt. Treasuries as bullion liable to a seignorage duty of 1 per cent.

“Para 2.—The Sicca Rupees heretofore in circulation in the Bengal Presidency are as you will perceive by reference to the Regulation below cited :—

First—The 19 Sun Old Standard Morshidabad Sicca Rupee of Regn. XXXV of 1793 weighing  $179\frac{2}{3}$  grains.

Secondly—The new standard Sicca Rupee of Regn. XIV of 1818 weighing 191·916 grains and

Thirdly—The new standard Sicca rupee of Regn. VII of 1833 weighing 192 grains.

These rupees must from the 1st proximo, in accordance with provisions of the act above cited, taken when tendered in payment of Govt. demands by weights of their own standards respectively—1 per cent sicca for every 100 sicca weight of Rupees of such standard as may be paid to you being demanded over and above, and separately credited as seignorage duty in your Treasury Accts. under the head of Mint Master of the Presidency after conversion into Co's Rupees at the intrinsic rate of 6-10-8 per cent."

The introduction of the new coinage in Company's rupees and making the Sicca rupee not legal tender occasioned difficulty to the ryots as Edward Repton, Collector, Balasore reports in his letter dated 12th August, 1838 to H. Ricketts, Commissioner, for at that time "the currency of the Balasore district averages less than one half of Company's coin."

By a circular of the Rev. Dept., dated 31st December 1838 the Collector was asked "to discontinue the receipt at your Treasury of Pyce of Reg. X of 1809, description.—size 19/20ths of an inch ; weight 8 anna, 9 pie sicca or 98¼ gr. and bearing inscription in Persian and Nagree only."

A circular was issued by Govt. (dated 10th Feb. 1843) on the subject of enforcing the general circulation of Govt. pice, requesting the Collectors to consult the principal shroffs regarding the quantity of pice in circulation both of Govt. and native coinage, and if the latter would fall into disuse if plentiful Govt. pice were supplied, and what would be the necessary supply requisite for general circulation.

The circular of the Finance Dept. dated 31st January, 1845 gives a brief history of the copper currency :

Para 3.—"Independent of the copper coinage issued under the provisions of Acts XXI of 1835 and XXII of 1844 the Copper coins which have legal circulation in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa are the copper Pyce struck at the Calcutta Mint in conformity with Reg. XXV of 1817 weighing 100 grains troy each and the half anna piece and pie piece weighing respectively 200 grains and 33·333 grains troy coined under Reg. III of 1831.

Besides these coins struck in conformity with the Regulations quoted there were others previously issued from the Calcutta Mint, which though not legalised by special enactment, the Govt. is nevertheless undoubtedly bound to recognise.

These may be briefly stated as follows :—From May, 1796 down to the years 1808/09 single Pyce were issued each, weighing 12 annas or 134¾ gr. and half-pyce each weighing 6 annas or 67⅜ gr. the former at 64 and the latter at 128 to one rupee.

In October 1808 the weight of the single pice was reduced 9 annas or 10, 106 gr. and on August 1817 to 100 gr. by Reg. XXV of 1817. No half pyce of this description was issued.

In 1808/9 Behar Single Pyce each weighing 101 grains were coined to circulate at 64 to the rupee.

Moreover, from December 1807 down to the passing of Reg. X of 1809, there was a coinage of Benares double Pyce, each of  $197\frac{1}{2}$  gr. single pyce of  $98\frac{1}{4}$  gr. and half pyce each of  $49\frac{1}{8}$  gr. which though struck for and remitted to Benares, can hardly be held to come within the provisions of Reg. X of 1809.

Para. 7—By Act XIII of 1836 all Pyce struck at the Mints of Benares and Furruckabad, under the Provisions of Regulations X of 1809, VII of 1814, and XXI of 1816 are to be legal tenders in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and by Act XIII of 1844 Trisoolee Pyce were declared altogether illegal and withdrawn from circulation.

Old Pyce were sent to the Mint Master for recoinage. (21 Nov., 1845).

K. P. MITRA.

## Some Recent Discoveries etc. including a large vault in the Calcutta Cathedral.

---

THE discovery of this spacious vault, the only one of its kind in an Indian Cathedral, is narrated in the following article which appeared in the Calcutta Diocessan Record in July, 1934 and which was reproduced by the "Statesman" on 4th July, and the "Times" London on 20th July.

"We are informed by Mr. W. S. Birney, who has been investigating the matter, that a large vault thirty feet by eighteen feet by six feet exists under the high altar of "St. Paul's Cathedral" Calcutta, and that this was intended as a sepulchre for the Metropolitan Bishops of Calcutta. The descent into it was by means of steps leading from a moveable slab of marble in front of the altar. All traces of the vault have been lost, but Mr. Birney is of the opinion, that it exists in the position indicated and if he had been buried in accordance with his expressed wish, the vault will contain the mortal remains of Bishop Wilson, the founder of the Cathedral. This wish is contained in the following extract from the Bishop's will. "I desire that if I die in India, my body be interred in the vault which has been erected under the Communion Table of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta."

The fact that this vault actually exists under the Sanctuary floor of the Cathedral, is confirmed by Bishop Wilson, in his letter dated 28th July, 1843, in which he refers to it thus:—

The other morning in my early drive, I met Captain Greene at my Cathedral. He was walking up and down in the vault which is being built for me under the Communion Table. It will be thirty feet by eighteen feet by six feet high. The descent is simply by steps from a large moveable marble slab under the Communion precincts etc.

With regard to his remains being laid to rest in this vault, there can be no doubt, for sufficient proof of this is given in the account of the burial service, which took place on the evening of Monday 4th January, 1858. Among other details it is stated:—

1. The mortal remains of the Venerable Prelate were consigned to their last resting place at St. Paul's Cathedral etc.
2. The coffin is laid immediately under the Communion Table in a vault constructed for this purpose.

3. Everyone vied with each other to have a last parting look at the place where the Venerable Divine's remains were laid and everyone seemed impressed with deep sorrow for the loss they had sustained.

The Reverend Welbore McCarthy, a Senior chaplain of the Cathedral and later, Archdeacon of Calcutta and Bishop of Grantham, in a letter dated 10th December 1924 (in my possession) further confirms having seen the coffin in the vault and writes :—

I remember looking through gratings close to the ground and seeing Bishop Wilson's coffin lying on the ground not far from the (I think) south wall of the church.

The writer has also often viewed the coffin, which appears to be in a perfect state of preservation. The stone supports of the vault however seem to be somewhat disturbed in places, due probably to the severe shocks of earthquake experienced in the city since the death of the Bishop. It is not known how the coffin came to be placed in its present position on the north side of the vault and the only conclusion that one can possibly come to, is that the leaden shell must have been placed there originally and that after the encasing, it was found to be too heavy to remove and place under the Communion Table.

It may be of interest perhaps to mention here, that no provision was made in the original plans of the Cathedral to build a vault. This was done at a later date when the foundations were extended to build a larger edifice, and probably also with a view to avoid any contravention of the conditions under which the Government gave the Bishop the land to build his Cathedral. One of these conditions was :—

"The ground to be thus attached to the Cathedral, it is expressly conditioned shall in no case be made use of for the purpose of Sepulture, and that no Monument or other structure of any description whatsoever shall be raised hereafter within the space enclosed. Any breach of these injunctions will involve the forfeiture of the permission now granted".

It is regrettable that all traces of this vault appear to have been lost at the time of Bishop Lefroy's death, or else he would surely have been laid to rest within the vault.

From a letter in my possession from one of the three dignitaries of the church who interviewed the Governor, asking for permission to bury the Bishop in the Cathedral close, it is evident that these gentlemen were not aware of the existence of the vault, hence their request.

## 2. STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN MEMORY OF BISHOP MILMAN.

The discovery of this Memorial was also published in the Calcutta Diocesan Record of July, 1934 in the following article :—

"It has been left to Mr. W. S. Birney to bring to light another memorial to Bishop (Milman). This is a stained glass east window in Christ's Church

(Rawalpindi). The discovery of the window is recorded in the following extract from a letter from the Chaplain of Rawalpindi to Mr. Birney, dated 7th May, 1934 :—

I find, also, that you are right in regard to the east window of this church: having cleared away a lot of birds' nests and rubbish from the outside of the window, I find that it is dedicated to Bishop Milman. It is in a good state of preservation. I have but recently come back to the station, but I was Chaplain here from 1926 to 1929, and during that time heard many comments on the Bishop's grave in the cemetery, but never of the fact that the window in the church is dedicated to him. I should think that scarcely anybody knows of this and I am interested to discover it. It is the only stained glass window that we have got, and I had taken it for granted that it had been erected by some regiment in the dim and distant past.

This window was designed and made by Jones and Willis, London, and is a beautiful piece of work in stained glass. It consists of a central light representing our Lord as "The Good Shepherd" carrying the Lamb in His Arms two side lights, containing figures of Angels bearing scrolls with the words "Feed my Sheep" and "Feed my Lambs". The three small top lights represent, (1) "The Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove"; (2) "The Pelican"; (3) "The Lamb with a Banner". Along the base of the window runs the following inscription :—

In Memoriam Roberte Milman Episcopo Calcuttenis, 1876.

The window was erected to the memory of the Bishop by the ladies of the Diocese of Calcutta.

It is common knowledge that Robert Milman, seventh Bishop of Calcutta (1866-1876) died at Rawalpindi on 15th March, 1876, while on a visitation to the province of Punjab and that his remains were buried in the cemetery at Rawalpindi. The monument erected over his grave by his sister, was designed by an eminent London Architect and is in the form of an Altar-Tomb and executed in white marble.

The length of the memorial stone is seven feet by three feet wide, supported by four columns at the corners and finished with carved capitals. The upper slab slopes slightly from the head to the foot and carries a Cross in relief six feet in length. On it are carved, "The Episcopal Cross", "The Pastoral Staff" and "The Mitre", insignias of the Episcopal office. The sides of the tomb are also carved and on the tombstone is the following inscription :—

In loving memory of Robert Milman, D.D.

Bishop of Calcutta.

Born 25th January, 1816. Died 15th March, 1876.

"Be thou faithful unto death and I will  
give thee a Crown of Life".

## 3. HISTORICAL CHAIR IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT CALCUTTA.

In the Bishop's library there is to be seen a quaint-looking old fashioned chair of great historical interest. The origin of this chair may be known to a few persons, but most people seem to have the impression, that it was brought to this city by some "Indiaman" in the dim and distant past.

It's history however dates back to January, 1835, and recalls the first visitation of Bishop Wilson to South India. Being keenly interested in the work of the pioneer missionaries to South India, the Bishop visited the various centres at which they laboured and arrived in due course at Tanjore, where the great missionary Schwartz spent the concluding twenty years of his life. While here he visited the Mission (Christ's) Church and the mission house built by Schwartz. Before leaving the house, the Bishop was glad to be able to secure a few relics of the missionary, which he treasured. They were, Schwartz's "pocket Testament", a "lock of his silvery hair" and an "old Danish chair" with round back and rattan sides, in which Schwartz used to sit and study. This chair the Bishop ordered to be repaired, after which it was sent to his study in Calcutta, where it still remains.

WILLIAM S. BIRNEY.

---



## Our Library Table

---

*Studies in Indo-Muslim History : A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians with a foreword by Sir Richard Burn Kt., C.S.I. : by Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala ; 1939.*

ELLIOT and Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians"—eight volumes—is a monumental work—completed some sixty years ago. These volumes are indispensable to all serious students of the Muhammadan period of Indian History, as they consist of annotated translations either of entire works or of excerpts from manuscripts of most Persian histories for the period. Their value is all the greater in view of the fact that the rarity of many of these manuscripts makes it impossible for most students to consult them. Sir Henry Elliot did real service to Indian History by collecting these manuscripts at a time when most of them were still available, and the high position he held in the Home Department of the Government of India enabled him to secure many manuscripts which would not have been available to less happily placed collectors. Prof. Dowson completed the work of edition, translation and arrangement of the various volumes after Sir Henry's death, but naturally with only single manuscripts in most cases and often with only copies or excerpts ; his versions and translations therefore are always not exact. Prof. Hodivala in his "Studies in Indo-Muslim History" has provided a critical commentary of the eight volumes and has not only corrected chronologies in disputed cases, but also verified facts and rejected statements which appeared inaccurate or where based on inadequate evidence. His corrections of the names of persons and places are of special value.

There is no such thing, however, as perfection in this world, and Prof. Hodivala's work is no exception to this rule. The author has at times unduly compressed his critical notes. But it may be rightly contended that nothing else was possible within the compass of a single volume of this size, consisting as it does of 727 pages. It is true that the author has referred to most of the extensive literature which has recently appeared. But in regard to Ibn Batuta and *Tabaqāt-i Nasiri* he should not have omitted to refer to Dr. Mahdi Husain's 'The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq' (printed in 1938). Similarly he would have done well to refer to *Tabaqā-i-Akbari*, the text of which was brought out in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in Vols. 1-3 (in 1913-35) and the English Translation recently revised and edited so ably by Dr. Bani Prashad of the Indian Museum. He would also have done well to refer, on pages 5 and ff. of his book, to the research work done by the two Bombay Civilians Sir James Campbell and A. M. T. Jackson in respect of Gurjaras and Gurjara empire, instead of referring to the compilation works of V. A. Smith

and C. V. Vaidya. In spite of these desiderata, we warmly and sincerely congratulate Prof. Hodivala on the production of such a gigantic work replete with patient labour and erudition ; and we have no doubt that before long his 'Studies' will be considered as an additional volume of Elliot and Dowson which no scholar of Indo-Muslim History can possibly afford to ignore.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

---

# Calcutta Historical Society

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

### PROCEEDINGS.

---

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held at the Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on Monday the 17th July, 1939, at 6 P.M. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., on the chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali the Honorary Secretary of the Society read the Annual Report for the year 1938.

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1938.

In introducing the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society for the year 1938 I have great pleasure in informing its members that the Society has completed the 32nd year of its existence.

*Financial Position* :—In the year under review the total number of members was as follows :

Life member	...	25
Ordinary member	...	84
Honorary member	...	13
		<hr/>
		122

against 125 of the previous year.

From the Abstract Statement of Accounts of the General Fund and the Index Fund for the year 1938, submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, it will be seen that our balance in the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., up to the 31st December, 1938, amounts to Rs. 1,285-1-0 out of which the sum Rs. 103-10-7 belongs to the Index Fund, and Rs. 1,181-6-5 to the General Fund including the Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1000/-. We offer our sincere thanks to Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes for kindly auditing the accounts of the Society year after year free of charge.

*Arrears* :—The subscription of 17 Ordinary members—amounting to Rs. 780/- is in arrear. Owing to heavy arrears and also as a result of dilatoriness on the part of some of the members in paying their subscriptions the Executive Committee of the Society was reluctantly compelled to decide at the last annual meeting to publish the journal "Bengal: Past and Present" half-yearly at least for the year under report. It is very much

to be regretted that the financial position remains almost unchanged and the Executive Committee can only undertake the responsibility of bringing out two such half-yearly numbers (January to June, and July to December 1939) in the current year also.

In the interest of the Society and its valuable journal "Bengal : Past and Present" the Executive Committee appeals to all the members of the Society to co-operate with it not only in realizing the subscription in arrears but also in increasing the membership of this learned institution.

Before expressing our sincere thanks to all those who have helped our Journal with their valuable contributions, we must place on record our sense of gratitude to Mr. Percy Brown for readily accepting the honorary editorship of the journal in place of Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., and also to Major Harry Hobbs, V.D., who inspite of his numerous activities continued to perform with great vigour and enthusiasm the important duties of Hony. Treasurer. He also very kindly permitted the Committee to store in his office, free of charge, all the books, records, blocks, and other properties of the Society.

Among others, the Society is grateful to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, K.C.I.E., Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Maharaj Kumar Raghbir Singh, D.Litt., LL.B., Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. S. K. Banerjee, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (Lond.), Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Major H. Hobbs, V.D., and Mr. N. Ganguly for their valuable contributions to the Society's journal.

Nawabzada A. S. M. Latifur Rahaman proposed and Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah seconded the report was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Treasurer Major H. Hobbs read the audited account and financial statements drawn up by the Hony. Auditors Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., proposed and Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali seconded the adoption of the audited accounts, it was carried unanimously.

*Arrears subscription.* Proposed from the Chair and resolved that one month's time should be given to the members who are in arrears for over three years for payment, and if they fail to pay their respective subscriptions within that time their names may be struck off from the list of members.

It was also resolved that attempt should be made to issue the half-yearly number (January to June, 1939) of "Bengal : Past and Present" as early as possible.

On the proposal of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., was unanimously elected Honorary Editor of the Society in place of Mr. Percy Brown on leave to England for the illness of his wife.

On the proposal of Nawabzada A. S. M. Latifur Rahman all the office bearers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected for the year 1939.

---

It was resolved that there should be at least two special general meetings in winter, when some interesting papers may be read.

It was further resolved that there should be a meeting at every three months, and that a general meeting should be called next month by giving a previous notice of a fortnight, and one paper may be read at each meeting.

With a vote of thanks to the chair and to Major H. Hobbs for his kind hospitality the meeting dissolved.

CALCUTTA,  
The 17th July, 1939.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.



## FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

## CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## INDEX FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1938.*

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
	Rs.	AS.	P.		Rs.	AS.	P.
To <i>Balance at 1st January 1938</i>				By <i>Bank Charges</i> ...	0	5	0
<i>With Mercantile Bank of</i>				<i>Postages</i> ...	5	0	0
<i>India, Ltd.</i>				<i>Printing &amp; Index, etc.</i> ...	1,093	0	0
<i>On Current Account</i> ...	968	15	7	<i>Balance at 31st December</i>			
<i>Amount transferred from</i>				1938			
<i>General Fund</i> ...	200	0	0	<i>With Mercantile Bank of</i>			
<i>Sale of Index</i> ...	33	0	0	<i>India, Ltd.</i>			
				<i>On Current Account</i> ...	103	10	7
	<u>Rs. 1,201</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>Rs. 1,201</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>

Calcutta,                    }  
 5th July, 1939.

Examined and found correct.  
 LOVELOCK & LEWES,  
 Chartered Accountants,  
 Registered Accountants,  
 Hony. Auditors.





# Calcutta Historical Society.

---

## Publications.

---

**Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.**—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta: arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

**The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.**—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

**Bengal : Past and Present.**—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 4, Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8, and Vols. XIX—XXIX, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

To be obtained from the office of the Calcutta Historical Society,  
3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta.

Or from the office of the Hony. Treasurer,  
9, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

---

---

PRINTED BY S. C. MAJUMDAR AT THE SRI GOURANGA PRESS,  
5, & 6, CHINTAMANI DAS LANE, CALCUTTA.

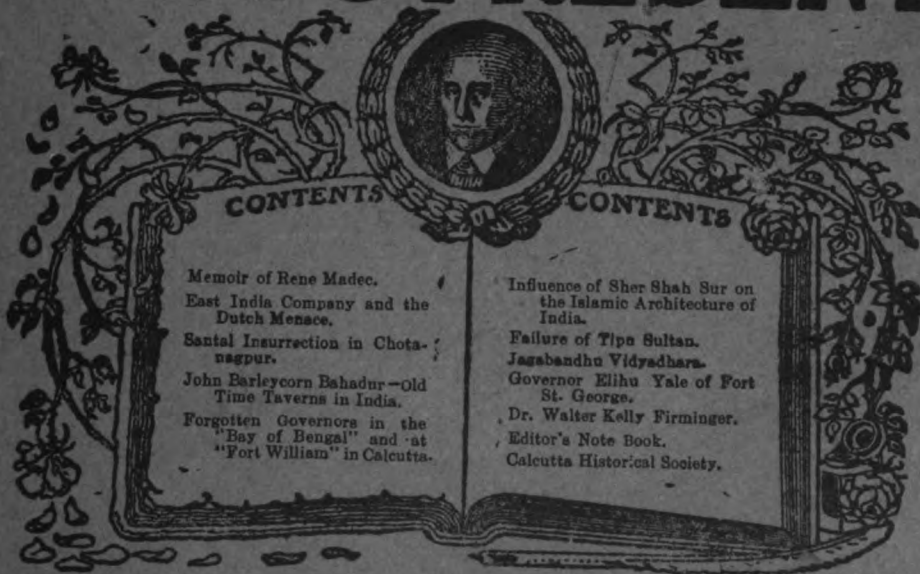
---

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE  
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

---



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



Memoir of Rene Madec.  
East India Company and the  
Dutch Menace.

Santal Insurrection in Chota-  
nagpur.

John Barleycorn Bahadur—Old  
Time Taverns in India.

Forgotten Governors in the  
"Bay of Bengal" and at  
"Fort William" in Calcutta.

Influence of Sher Shah Sur on  
the Islamic Architecture of  
India.

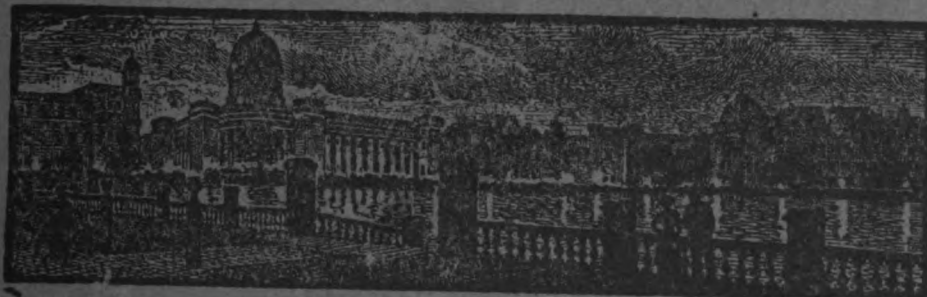
Failure of Tipu Sultan.  
Jagabandhu Vidyadhar.

Governor Elihu Yale of Fort  
St. George.

Dr. Walter Kelly Firminger.

Editor's Note Book.

Calcutta Historical Society.





# Calcutta Historical Society.

## President :

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.,  
THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

## Patrons :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW, P.C., K.T.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.  
THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.I.E., G.B.E.  
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE COUNTESS OF LYTTON, C.I.  
LIEUT.-COL. THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS STANLEY JACKSON, P.C., G.C.I.E.

## Vice-Patrons :

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE MOST REVEREND DR. FERDINAND PERIER, S. J., ARCHBISHOP OF CALCUTTA.  
THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD, AMIR-UL-OMRAH, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.  
MAHARAJADHIRAJ SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

## Vice-Presidents :

MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	LIEUT.-COL. D. G. CRAWFORD, I.M.S., (Retired).
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.	MAJOR V. C. P. HODSON.
THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, M.A., D.D., LATE ARCHDEACON OF CALCUTTA.	MR. A. CASSELLS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired).
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.	MON. HARIHAR SETT, CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR (CHANDERNAGORE).
RAJA JANAKINATH ROY.	

## Members of Council :

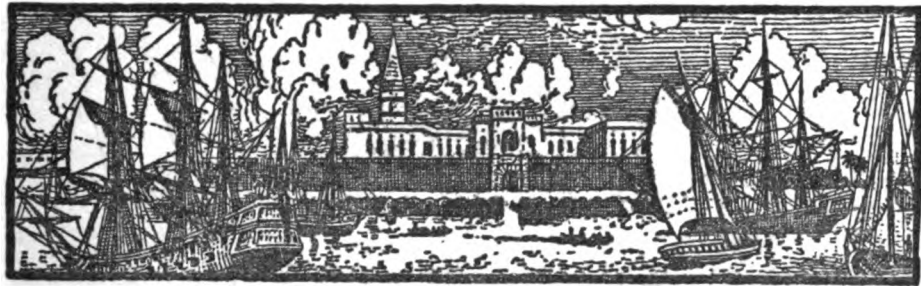
1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.	11. MAJOR H. HOBBS.
2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	12. MR. J. G. BROOKER,
3. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R. PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.	13. MR. PERCY BROWN.
4. MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.	14. MR. N. GANGULY.
5. DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.	15. MR. R. MAULIK.
6. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN, M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW.	16. MAHARAJA KUMAR PROBIRENDRA MOHAN TAGORE.
7. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.	17. MR. D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.
8. MR. NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI, M.A.	18. SIR A. H. GHUZZAVI, M.L.A.
9. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.	19. THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL HUQ, C.I.E.
10. MR. A. LEHURAU.	20. DR. BAINI PRASAD, D.Sc., F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.A.B.S.

## Executive Committee :

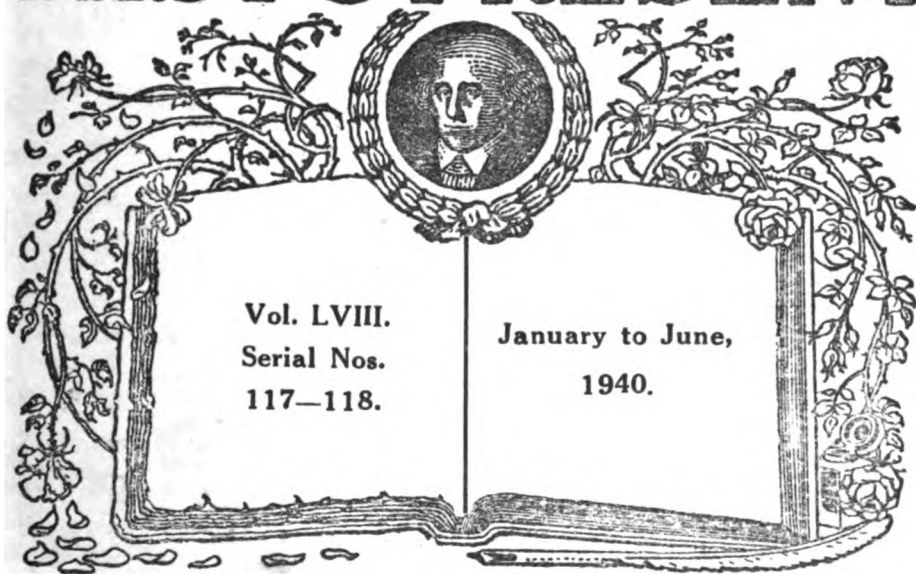
1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.	7. MR. R. MAULIK.
2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	8. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.
3. SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E. (CHAIR- MAN).	9. MR. J. G. BROOKER.
4. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R. PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.	10. KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH.
5. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN, M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW.	11. KHAN BAHADUR G. A. DOSSANI.
6. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.	12. KHAN BAHADUR MAHOMED ALI, M.L.A.
	13. SAHIBZADA KAZEM ALI MIRZA, M.L.A.
	14. THE HONORARY EDITOR.
	15. THE HONORARY TREASURER.
	16. THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.
	17. THE HONORARY MANAGER.

Editor "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT" :—MR. PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A.  
Honorary Treasurer :—MAJOR H. HOBBS—(21, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA).  
Honorary Secretary :—MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.  
Do. Do. (Joint) :—DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.  
Honorary Manager :—MR. NARENDRANATH GANGULY.  
(98/5A, Sir Surendra Banerjee Road, Calcutta).  
Bankers :—THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED, CALCUTTA.  
Auditors :—MESSRS. LOVELOCK AND LEWES, 4, LYONS RANGE, CALCUTTA.  
Office :—3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET, CALCUTTA.

SUBSCRIPTION : Rs. 20 PER ANNUM TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE.

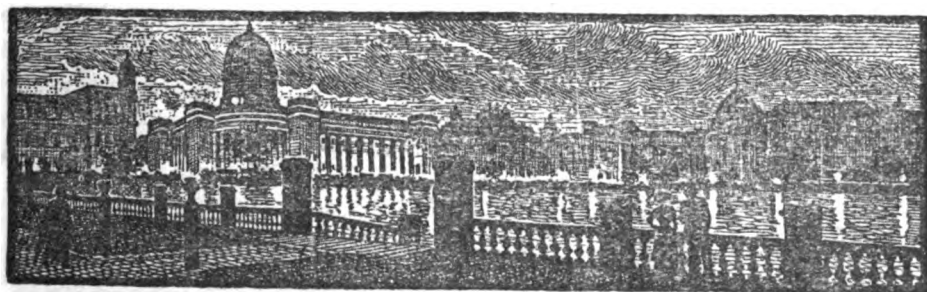


# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



Vol. LVIII.  
Serial Nos.  
117—118.

January to June,  
1940.



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Digitized by Google

## CONTENTS.

---

### ARTICLES.

	PAGES
I. MEMOIR OF RENE MADEC: BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E. ... ..	1—5
II. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE DUTCH MENACE (1654-61): BY J. C. DE, M.A.B.L. (CAL.), M.A. (LOND.) ...	6—12
III. SANTAL INSURRECTION IN CHOTANAGPUR: BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L. ... ..	13—21
IV. JOHN BARLEYCORN BAHADUR OLD TIME TAVERNS IN INDIA: BY MAJOR H. HOBBS ... ..	22—52
V. FORGOTTEN GOVERNORS IN THE "BAY OF BENGAL" AND AT "FORT WILLIAM" IN CALCUTTA (1713-52): BY WILLIAM S. BIRNEY ... ..	53—56
VI. THE INFLUENCE OF SHER SHAH SUR ON THE ISLAMIC ARCHITEC- TURE OF INDIA: BY PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A. ...	57—63
VII. THE FAILURE OF TIPU SULTAN: BY A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. ... ..	64—70
VIII. JAGABANDHU VIDYADHARA: BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.	71—73
IX. GOVERNOR ELIHU YALE OF FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS: BY P. B. ... ..	74—75
X. DR. WALTER KELLY FIRMINER: BY NARENDRANATH GANGULY	76—77
XI. EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK: BY N. G. ... ..	78—
XII. CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ... ..	79—82

---



# Memoir of Rene Madec.

(Bib. Nat. Nouvelles acquisitions, francais 9. 368)

## IV

---

[The first three sections of the autobiography of the French military adventurer, Nabab Rene Madec, subsequent to the battle of Buxar (1764), as translated by me, have been printed in this journal, 1936 (Oct. pp. 60-66 of No. 104), 1937 (Apr., pp. 69-80 of No. 106) and 1938 (Jan-June, pp. 1-10 of No. 109.) The concluding section is given below ; it stops with his final departure from Northern India, in order to assist in the defence of Pondicherry from the English attack in 1778. Madec had been driven out of the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, a second time in May 1774, by the pressure of the English authorities of Calcutta, but Shuja had very kindly recommended him to his kinsman Mirza Najaf Khan, who was then the Bakhshi-ul-mamalik or Chief Commander of the Emperor of Delhi.—*J. Sarkar.*]

[Page 52] I arrived there [*i.e.*, at Delhi, on 1 June 1774,] after making twelve marches. Shuja had taken the care to announce me beforehand ; I was very well received there, and the more so as I had already served that Chief. It was now the rainy season ; I went into cantonments and occupied myself in drilling my recruits, whom I had been obliged to enlist after my last campaigns which had reduced my force, with a view to putting myself in a condition to appear on the field of battle again. Because, such is the life that one always leads in this country, where one cannot live without entering on campaigns every year, as otherwise his troops would die of starvation and the farmers would not pay the revenue unless they are asked with the sword in hand. There now remained with me only three battalions of a thousand men each, who had rejoined me with my European officers, who were most attached to me, 500 Mughal cavalry and ten cannon of brass, two thousand matchlocks, fifty others of my old artillerymen with 200 sepoys for guarding them, and a hundred men as my bodyguard ; finally, forty camels and some carriages, also some small cannon called *épingards* [*shutarnals* or *zamburaks*?] borne on camels, and sappers and other labourers necessary for my small troop. I had no elephant since the loss sustained in my last campaign for the Emperor [*i.e.*, in the battle before the walls of Delhi on 17 Dec. 1772.]

The prince, being greatly embarrassed in his finances, as he could not pay me he could not assure me of the maintenance of my troops ; so he ceded to me in full proprietorship some small districts with orders to subdue

them in his name, with the most extensive powers to that effect. My forces being known, I had not much difficulty in obtaining in two months the submission of these districts of which the chief place was Bāri. There I established my house, my family and my veterans. It was during the season of the first harvest. Having received wherewith to pay my troops whose number I had greatly increased, I departed for making my junction with the army of the Emperor, after leaving there land-stewards and a sufficient number of old soldiers for supporting the inhabitants when necessary and for drilling the recruits.

The General, Najaf Khan, waited for me with impatience and sent to me messenger after messenger to urge me to come. The two armies, of very nearly the same strength, were present. My place was always in the vanguard. As soon as I arrived fighting on a small scale commenced.

We took some small forts and many times we fought in the plain ; we reduced the Jats to the necessity of remaining encamped under the walls of their capital.

My camp was 30 to 35 leagues from my districts ; the Emperor had granted still other concessions [*i.e.*, *jagirs*] for my well-being and that of my troops. These favours raised enemies against me, among whom the Jats were the most furious and the least concealed. They had information that I had not many troops left with me. The Rajah of the Jats decided to send men to attack my invalids and injure my interests by distressing my districts. Being encamped at the foot of their capital, which was fortified, they could skilfully withdraw troops from it without our perceiving it. However, I learnt that they had departed by forced marches for my districts. I sent word to the General [Najaf Khan] and warned him that I could not help going with my camp to defend them. He tried at first to turn me aside from this resolve, but I made him admit that if the success of the enemy deprived me of the means of feeding my troops, I should cease to be their master, as the Emperor was not able to put me in a position to pay my men except by means of these land grants. He then gave me leave and promised to send some battalions of sepoys to my aid.

I took five days in arriving there in a beating rain ; I assembled the troops within my reach ; I waited for the rest and for the troops of the [Mughal] general, who never came.

I had only four [square] leagues of my territory occupied by the enemy, —happily it was not on the side of Bāri, where my family lived. They had no doubt that the extreme fatigue of a forced march in such a rough season would not leave us our ordinary ardour for battle, and having been informed by their spies of the poor condition of my troops and my bad position, resting upon a river, they departed at night in order to surprise me at day-break [29 July, 1775]. However, I had the time to sound the alarm, when a horseman from my advanced posts came to inform me of their approach. They did not give me time to take up a better position, and firing began on both sides, in spite of our being in the mud up to our knees, which paralysed the manœuvre of my cannon, of which I lost many.



These circumstances discouraged my infantry ; they did not reply [to the enemy's fire] and made ready to flee, which had never happened to them before when I have led them against far superior forces most successfully, (e.g.,) against the coalition that attacked Delhi and while I was serving the Jats.

My forces would have been sufficient, if discouragement had not seized my Indian troops, who were as conquered, at least by their superstitions, because I have always proved that they are not wanting in courage.

The enemy having then perceived my men's hesitation in the manoeuvres and the firing, I hazarded a charge of a party of my cavalry on them, which shook them in their turn. I wished to profit by that first terror and continue to charge them in person with the rest of my cavaliers, but I heard a cry that no one was following me. However, I was already launched on the charge with the small number that surrounded me and helped me to disengage myself ; and we briskly posted ourselves at about a hundred paces towards a hamlet where I had left four cannon and a battalion for guarding my property, which were plundered when they were able to force us to retreat, [thus] abandoning to them the most agreeable and most productive part of my districts, which were desired the most. There were about 4,000 men killed and wounded on the two sides taken together and I received three wounds on my person which I could dress only at night.

During the enemy's pillage of my property I was able to form as well as I could, two columns with the rest of my troops, of which one was directed to Bāri and the other to Agra where I had my arsenals.

I there cast ten new cannon, two of 12 lb. and eight of 8 lb., besides one howitzer. I took in new recruits and bought back from the peasants and the Jews [=peddlers?] the property of my camp which had been sold to them, and at the end of two months I rejoined the army of the Emperor, which was lying encamped before the walls of the capital of the Jat Rajah [Dig.]\* [Najaf] continued to harass the fort without having the power to capture it. I was made to encamp within cannon range [of the walls], and he commenced to place some batteries, to dig trenches and to fire vigorously on the place, which with its external gardens and suburbs had more than three leagues of circumference, with very high and wide ramparts, where they could easily revolve their cannon, numbering two to three hundred, of which many were of a large size. But as the walls were of clay, our bullets sank into them instead of making breaches by which we could have delivered assaults.

They made many useless sorties in order to be able to procure provisions ; we bombarded them more and more, and our cavalry roamed with such activity for investing them that they were forced to send the inhabitants outside, to the number of more than 150 thousand, who issued by tens of

---

\* A full account of this siege of Dig, from the manuscript journal of the Comte de Modave, has been translated and published by me in this journal, April 1936 (No. 102), pp. 114 *et seq.*

thousands in order to avoid being starved to death by the want of food,—so that that place which contained three hundred thousand souls was reduced to surrender to the army of the Emperor. [Dig fell on 30 April, 1776.]

The imperial general [Najaf Khan] established himself there with the number of troops necessary for supporting his post, and caused the rest of the army to camp in the fine territories around which were the most cultivated and most productive in the country. Its revenue is estimated as more than a hundred millions.

This war having ended advantageously, I took my leave immediately after in order to go to my district of Bāri to revisit my family and take rest and pay my troops as soon as I could collect my arrears of revenue and there pass in winter quarters the season of the rains.

During that time I went [to Delhi] from time to time to visit the ministers and the generals, and cause myself to be presented to the monarch, but there were so many persons interested in keeping the Europeans at a distance that I was able to obtain only two audiences,—a little long, in order to be able to make him embrace the views of France. At the other times I was not admitted to the honour of seeing him except in the numerous circle of his Court.

During that rainy season I made my plans for departing and going to Pondicherry. It was not without much difficulty because the Emperor did not wish to grant me the permission, and nobody has yet seen any one going out of this country with a fortune. I was probably the first who thus went away.

I was strongly tied to the Rajah of Gohad. That prince had always promised me that whenever I should wish to go away, I had only to go to him and he would procure for me the means of my journey. I now wrote to him. I found him still of the same disposition ; consequently I made my preparations for departure . . .

The army of the Emperor was far distant from me ; there was only a corps, about 10,000 men, posted at a short distance from me.

All was ready ; I departed in the evening and marched all the night and the next day. About three o'clock in the afternoon I encamped. My troops, whom I had made to believe that I was going to the Court, when they saw the route which I had taken, had no doubt about my project. They murmured in a low tone, as money was due to them. They were very much attached to me and I gave them much confidence. They said not a word and I continued my route. After seventeen days of terrible marching I arrived in the territory of Gohad. The Emperor was astonished at my march and all the people regretted me.

The Rajah was out on campaign. I wrote to him. He sent a thousand horsemen to me, whom I met on the way and we marched together. The Rajah came up to me, and did me a thousand friendly acts, and we encamped together.

The Maratha army which was not distant, made me many offers but I did not accept any. It was not without reason, because they dreaded my junction with the Rajah on whom they had come to wage war. They had previously entered his country and obliged him to pay large sums of money ; and yet his country would have been [now] ravaged [by them.]

I took three days in making my preparations, in sending back the heavy baggage to his capital and all the families, after which we marched towards the Maratha army, which was only twenty leagues distant from us. We soon approached them and there were many petty encounters between us, with the advantage always on our side. We had also a small battle in which we took 5 pieces of cannon, 2 elephants and much baggage from them.

After this action, they did not show themselves any more except at a distance. We continued to pursue them up to their districts, where we took two [forts] and put in garrisons, after which we retired to our own frontiers. During seven months we made this journey. At the end of that period they showed an appearance of desiring peace and entering into terms of agreement with us. We asked for nothing more ; in a short time the affair was terminated. We restored to them a great portion of what we had taken from them. The two parties feasted each other, after which they separated, and we marched back [to Gohad.]

The Rajah faithfully kept his promise of helping me to retire. I departed at the beginning of May 1777, and after travelling for nearly nine months arrived at Pondicherry on 14th February, 1778.

[For the details of the defence of Pondicherry, see *Le Nabab Rene Madec* par Emile Barbé, 1894.]

JADUNATH SARKAR.

---

## The East India Company and the Dutch menace (1654—61).

---

THE relationship between the Dutch and English in the East continued to be as bitter as ever even after the conclusion of the first Dutch war. Disputes regarding the fulfilment of the Dutch promise to pay £85,000 to the Company immediately came into being, and were reinforced by those concerning the cession of Pulu Run. The Dutch did not certainly relish the idea of letting the English into their monopoly of the trade in cloves, by allowing them take this otherwise unimportant islands, and therefore threw difficulty after difficulty in way of the surrender. Moreover the Dutch declared war on Bantam, and claimed that the English ships must not visit Bantam during the continuance of the fight and blockade. The Dutch also notified the English that soon the English ships would be precluded from Macassar, Achin and Palembang. Dutch privateers became active. Throughout the period the felling prevailed in England that the unscrupulous Dutch were bent on ousting English commerce from the East, and had grown into a national enemy. Rumours as to swelling Dutch armaments, and fears as to the acquisition of all Portuguese possessions by the Dutch rendered the atmosphere still more hostile than before.

The English Company feared in 1659 that "the Dutch pretending some injuries from the Mogull" might even block up Swally and deprive us of trade".

The Dutch on the other hand argued that the temporary Cromwellian experiment of leaving the Eastern Trade open was flooding their own European markets and depressing the shares of the V.O.C. "This very much sunk the actions of the Dutch . . . Company". But in 1657, the new Charter came in. The attempts made to seize Dutch ships in English harbours again annoyed the Hollanders. The threatened participation of Cromwell in the Swedish war complicated matters. Moreover the Dutch failed to see any reason why the English could not have their claims against the Dutch decided in Dutch Courts. The assistance the English rendered or tried to render to the Asiatic enemies of the aggressive Dutch furnished again another cause of friction. In Europe Charles II came ultimately back to the throne of his fathers, and it was well known that all his sympathies were with Orange as against De Will. The Dutch had tried to make amends for Charles's forced departure from Holland by a lavish entertainment when the Restoration seemed certain. But mutual suspicion remained. The old controversies about the North Sea Fisheries and the Navigation Act also continued. The Parliament of May 1661 was determined not to repeal the

Navigation regulations, and the English claimed free trade in the East, inspite of 'exclusive contracts' and immunity for their passes granted to Asiatic ships.

The Dutch became also nervous that about the possibility that the Restoration might easily annul any obligation the Interregnum might have incurred, provided it was profitable for itself to do so.

Revington who became the chief at Surat, addressed his first letter to the Company on 28th. January, 1657. He pointed out in that, "Wee are trampled on by the greatest enimies as well as envyers to our trade and nation, the Dutch." "Last yeare they took Zeloan". He believed that the Dutch would ultimately overthrow the Portuguese, and then the English were "not to expect at the best any trade here without paying them whatever custome they would "impose upon" the English. It seemed prudent for the Company to pay serious attention to the fact that the Dutch had already taken "townes and forts" so important as to threaten the "utter extirpation of" the company's "factories and trade" in Western India.

A reference is also made to the Gombroon customs in this connection. The Company, this letter explains, was granted "not only an exception of dutys" . . . "but the moiety of the customes of all goods and merchandise imported by the Dutch and other nations whatever into the port of Gumbroone, the place wither from Ormoos the mart was carried". This practice not only increased "the honnour of our nation" but, "produced in former yeares . . . 10 or 12,000 £ per annum". As regards Bantam, there is also a despairing note. "And for the Bantam remaines, wee hope to have an oppertunity whereby wee may sell them, or send them to their proper mart to bee sold." The *Endymion* sent to Bantam was refused entrance by the Dutch, and another attempt met with another rebuff and she had to sail back to England.

The Court record of 2nd. September, 1657, tells us that the pretext on which the *Endymion* was not allowed to go into Bantam road on the first occasion was that the Dutch were at war with the local population. On the second occasion, she was plainly told that she could go in if she could vanquish the Dutch fleet. Preparations were also made to plunder the pepper on the Cock. John Edwards who lived in the Archipelago for a long time, reported to the Company that the Dutch used to uproot the trees at Pulu Run, and also made plans to destroy the fort.

The "Collections . . . concerning several abuses and indignities put upon the English Nation by the Dutch" (of 1657) again are vociferous in its detailed account of English grievances. The restrictions imposed on the *Endymion's* voyage are repeated, and it is added that she had to return "with a considerable amount of dead freight". Similarly, the *Olive Branch* was not allowed to proceed to Bantam Sillebar or Indrapura, and the *Jonathan* to Bantam and Macassar. The Dutch are reported to have said, "If the English were stronger then they, they might go for Bantam but if they were stronger then the English they should not". They also attempted, it is alleged, to bribe King of Jambi into refusing the English permission to trade in pepper with that place. "These unwarrantable actions of the Dutch" brought "dishonour on the English nation", and "caused . . . losses and damages to the English

. . . . Company, and the several proprietors interested" in various ships, "some thousands of pounds." Attempts to corrupt the English employees were also made.

They probably also became by 1659 more friendly with "Merjumbelo" "the chiefe Generall of Oram Zeebe" (in Bengal) than the English. This was rather disconcerting, because, what Mfr. Jumla "saies is a law". "Therefore hee must be satisfied in some reasonable manner". Andrews wrote on 6th. April, 1660 that "Meir Jumla is . . . a friend to our false ones the Dutch, and urged by them to offerr abuses unto us". Halstead's letter of 3rd. June (1659) mentioned "a rumour of" "Merjumbelows offering the government of Heugly to the Dutch". But his letter of 13th. September 1660, says that "the Dutch had all their goods seized on a Dacka . . . and their persons grossly abused. At Heugley alsoe the second of the Dutch was imprisoned ten dayes, and narrowly saved his life."

We are told on 2nd May, 1659, that "the Dutch and we stand upon very tickleish termes . . . we charge them with breach of their articles . . . and for the same many of their ships have been taken by us, and we hold them soe by the nose that if we meet with any of their ships they are searched, and if we find any goods belonging to Spain, or goeing thither, or soe much as a Spanish writing, they seize on them and carry them for England".

The Remonstrance and Petition of the Company to the Council of Trade dated 11th. December, 1660 in course of sketching a History of East India trade, points out that "whilst the English were content to carry on the trade in a fair and just way with the consent of the natives, the Dutch coveting to engross it for themselves, unjustly seized many ships belonging to the English, disturbed them in their trade in divers places, drove them from their possessions in the Islands of Banda and inflicted many wrongs and injuries upon them . . . Neither of late years have the Dutch forborne their wonted violence., but they . . . disturbed the English in their commerce by sea and land" "(They) have seized their goods before Goa, assaulted and wounded their factors in their own houses at Jambi, and vilified them generally, as if they were but one degree above slaves". "All which impudent affronts to the honour of the English nation and horried injuries to the petitioners' stock and commerce" were more or less condoned by their government, "most of these states being interested in the Dutch East India Stock and sharers in the unjust advantages thus gained".

The document again refers to the transactions of Drake in the Moluccas which are evidently appealed to as precedents. "Wee intend very suddenly to present to our kings Majestie (who is now, by gods providence, returned and settled, in the Government of his Kingdomes"), says the Company, "a narration of those abuses which have binn put upon us by the Dutch, amongst which wee will insecrt their proceedings at Porto Nova, in frustrating you of the promised freight, by their threatening of those country people and confiscating of their goods".

Portuguese power was declining. A long letter from Swally Marine of 27th. January, 1644, for example, says, "the Portugalls are soe base and

beggerly that they will not at such cost meddle with such a comodity"—Cannary Wine which the English were trying to sell. This letter again alleges that the Dutch regarded the sale of wine at Batavia as their monopoly. Again on 20th. January, 1659, we are told that "the Portugalls begin to be verie poore both", at Goa "and all along the coast" because of the Dutch blockade "The Portugalls are very low" according to another letter already referred to. But "the Dutch, with their bribing the Governors of the country, get footing . . . more and more, having lately, . . . taken the castle of Quilone from the Portugalls, . . . and if there comes no Vice Roy this yeare from Portugall with shipping souldiers and ammunition, they will proceed a pace taking possession of their small houlds upon the Coast".

The farflung bazars established by the Dutch by this time enabled them to deal in Eastern products with Eastern countries. The English on the other hand had to rely to a large extent on money and goods imported from Europe. The capital of the Dutch was not small. Their shipping was large. They also held a fortified station at Pulicat north of Madras. Therefore when they began to compete with the English in North and South India the English could hardly help keep pace with them. Walderrave and Stevenson (for example) writing to the Company from Balasore on 28th. December, 1654 says, "Because wee have not supplyes to second our reports to these people nor any business that may be thought in the least proportionable to the great and vast trade of the Hollanders here, it hath caused us to be very suspiciously lookt upon in the opinion of these unbelieving people." "These places of Bengal and Eurixa sufficiently manifest that here is roome enough for the employment of a very great stock, where although the Dutch invest at least £200,000 sterling yearly, and some years find lading for seven and eight ships of burthen, nevertheless your Worships, supplying this place with stock sufficient and honest men to manadg it, will soone find as great business and as much profit".

"The Dutch", again had "nine pattelloes: (=large boats) of petar with some 25 in 26,000 maunds which "had been at Pun Pun" "some 16 daies which" would "goe for Hugely their dustuckes being" probably "all ready".

The Dutch were undoubtedly supplanting the Portuguese as the serious rivals of the English towards the close of our period, and the effect of their rivalry became accentuated by the lack of adequate support to the Company from home and other causes.

This commercial rivalry led to quasi-privateerings.

Van Goen, the able and cruel Dutchman typical of what was best and worst in the Dutch agents of those days, justifies these attacks in a letter to the Directors written as early as 1615, thus:—

"If some daring thieves should night and day break into your Lordships' houses what measures would Your Lordships take to meet such fellows and defend your property, if not by using force against them? This is what the English do commit against Your Lordships' estate in the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda. Wherefore we are surprised that it is ordered not to use force against them. If the English have this privilege over nature and all creation,

then it is right good to be an Englishman, and true indeed the slander and the calumny which they spread among all princes against the Dutch".

The Directors themselves were certainly alive to the need of maintaining their trade monopoly. They had asked Pieter Both, as early as 1610, "to take all possible care that the trade of the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda therein included, should ever remain and be assured to the Company, so that no part of it should fall into the hands of any other nation in the world save to ourselves or to such as we should find good".

To illustrate. In 1657, *The Orange*, a very large vessel of 1,400 tons (1) and manned by 400 sailors met with the English ship, the *Society*, which was doubling the Cape on her way home from Masulipatam. Without (according to the Letter Book) (2) any provocation she was attacked violently and soon was obliged to surrender. When the English skipper remonstrated, the Dutchman is reported to have pointed out that "might is right" was the maxim that governed all relationships on sea. In spite of all their protests the English were forced to continue their voyage in the derelict. They remained in danger of being washed away at any moment by the high seas.

At the same time, the English documents does not seem to mention that their cargo was plundered. The obvious reason was that the Dutch suspected the English ships of carrying Portuguese goods.

Complaint followed complaint in an unending succession. In August, 1656 (according to a report of a judge of the Admiralty Court and others) the *Endymion* was compelled to desist from trading with Bantam and even communicating with the English factory on shore, by a number of Dutch vessels. She was forced to move closer to the chief of the Dutch squadron, to impress on her Dutch "power and greatness". A large amount of dead freight and a damage of nearly £10,000 were suffered. Two years later a similar fate befell the *Mayflower*, desirous of trading with Achin, inspite of the fact that she was permitted to carry on commerce by the Queen of that locality. A numbr of bags containing pepper were looted from her longboat by the Dutch. When the *Marigold* was lying off Batavia, the English agent's "scrutoors and cabinetts" were taken away by the Dutch who gained from papers information which was used to the prejudice of English commercial interests. The damage came to nearly £12,000. By the end of 1658, the *Advice* and the *Dragon* were sought to be headed away from Bantam. The Dutch chief was approached. He declined to interfere on the ground that the Hollanders were fighting Bantam. The English pleaded that they could not possibly supply arms and ammunition to the natives because they did not have a surplus stock on board. Damage of more than £26,000 was sustained. Further, by buying up all the pepper from Jambi the Dutch prevented the *Dragon* from trading there subsequently. In the same way (in 1659) the *Smaritan Anne* and *Mayflower* were kept off from trade with Sumatra. A loss of about £37,500 resulted from the Dutch action. The *Merchants' Delight* again was forced to go away from Bantam, with damage

(1) According to the ideas of those days.

(2) Vol. ii, p. 36.



estimated at £13,587. On her way to Goa (in September 1659) the *Constantinople Merchant* led by her skipper Robert Browne, was stopped by a Dutch squadron, one of which—the *Dunburgh*—opened fire on her. She was obliged to strike sail. In attempting to get a better berth she weighed anchor. But she was fired upon again, and looted of her cargo of ammunition. A loss of more than £35,500 was inflicted on her.

At this time, riots on land also continue as frequently as ever. The same document says that an English establishment in Guinea was fired at and burnt down. In the Archipelago De Gayer and Class attacked with a following of nearly two hundred the Company's storehouse at Jambi, looted bullion and thrashed the Company's servants.

Qurrles Browne deposed on 18th. January, 1658 that the Dutch prevented the *Olive Branch* from voyaging to Bantam on the pretext that they were fighting the Javanese. She turned towards Sumatra and had to lie off Pulu Laugundy to avoid being seized by the Dutch.

The commercial loss was great, and her enforced stoppage at Mauritius was indirectly due to this Dutch action. On her way to Bantam a Dutch ship whom the *Blessing* approached in all friendliness shot at her off Mud Island, and the English ship had to flee from its neighbourhood. Two Dutch vessels sought to head her off from Bantam Road, but the native allies of the English prevented such a possibility.

The Council of State recorded on 12th. November, 1657 that the Government had been approached from many quarters to redress the grievances of those who had suffered in the hands of the Dutch in the East in respect of person and property. We may however notice that the same document records the seizure of the Dutch "*Sprew*" at Plymouth. She belonged to the Dutch East India fleet, and the warrant was issued by the Admiralty Court on the instance of the Company for damages amounting to £20,000.

The Company urged on by those interested in some of the ships captured by the Dutch approached the Protector in August, 1658 with a list of the wrongs which they had suffered from the Dutch and which rendered the commercial charter granted by Cromwell to them nugatory. Firstly, they had two years ago ordered the English to leave Bantam in six days' time. The *Endymion* and other private vessels had suffered great damage because of such action. Secondly, the efforts of Downing, the ambassador at the Hague, had not yet been able to patch up an agreement. Thirdly, they seized the *Postition*, *Frederick*, *Francis*, and *John* as they sailed out of Bantam with pepper. Lastly, the *Bantam Frigate* was pounced on at Indrapura and detained for several weeks. The Company had nothing to do directly with private ships. But the fear was entertained that the fate of their own vessels might be similar. The Protector was solicited "to own them and their cause".

Sir John Dethicke and others point out that the seizure of the *Bantam Frigate* could not be justified in any way, because there was no war of the Dutch with the ruler of Indrapura. The Council of State was petitioned to by them for righting Dutch wrongs. Damages suffered by the Company are again referred to in a document of October, 1661 and are said to have reached a total of about £250,000.

It must not however be lost sight of at this time that in addition to all these "horrid invasions and rapines" Dutch actions against the Portuguese were held by the Company to damage English Eastern trade, because a marriage of England's king with the Portuguese princess was being thought of.

Sir Richard Ford (who had been elected a committee) informed Sir Edward Nicholas on 31st. January, 1661, that the Dutch occupation of Goa and locality near it would enable them to dominate West Indian trade, the huge profits of which would again make it easy for them to aim at European domination. Attempts are made therefore by the Company to stop "their great and suddaine equippage" at Amsterdam. Charles himself told the Dutch envoys on one occasion that if their fleet acted against the Portuguese he would discontinue talks about an entente which were proceeding at that time. Pepys speaks about "some design against the Dutch, we think at Goa" and probably alludes to a proposed English naval demonstration in Eastern Waters in favour of the Portuguese by this time.

The Dutch Company on the other hand was convinced that they had every right to capture at least some of the English ships. "The directors of the (Dutch) East-Indy Company declared playnly that it were much better", writes Downing, to Thurloe, "to have a warre with England then to restore these ships, and are returned to Amsterdam in great rage". The English were accused of supplying artillerymen to the ruler of Bantam. They therefore argued that capture of English ships were justifiable. The Dutch are said to have asserted that "such barbarous nations out of Europe" who violated "the laws of Nations" . . . ought not to be dealt withall as these within". Then we must not forget that Cromwell had not been able to mitigate the rigours of the Navigation Act in favour of the Dutch in an appreciable way, and that he forced the shifty and selfish De Wit to exclude the House of Orange. Trade was the life blood of the Republic and any attempt to check its flow either directly or indirectly had to be overcome according to them with all promptness.

With a good deal of reluctance, the States General at last decided on the restoration of these vessels. But causes of dispute remained. The Dutch interpretation of international law was challenged on the grounds that their blockade was not effective, and that they possessed no ruling rights over the country in question. They had no right to dictate to the English "what allies they shall choose and how they shall traffique with the same".

In 1661, the English were accused in a Dutch letter of the charge that "the Hon. East India Company" . . . "doth renew and ripp open severallould sores and debates formerly enacted which have bine long buried".

#### References

Public Record Office: C.O. 77. VII, 94, 95; Home Mis. XLII p. 3; Ct. Bk. XXIV; Britannia Languens; Court Minutes etc. 1655-59; 1660-63; E.F. 1655-60; 1661-64; Pub. Rec. Off. C.O. 389, Vol. I, f. 24; Thurloe Papers Vol. VII; P.R.O. 77, VIII, 70; 122, etc.

J. C. DE.

## Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur.

---

IN an article on "*Original Records about the Santhal Insurrection of 1855*" (*Bengal, Past and Present*, July—September, 1934, pp. 32 ff.) Mr. Kalikinkar Datta has referred to a letter which Mr. J. Allen, Commissioner of Chotanagpur, wrote on December 17, 1855 to William Gray, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, exonerating the Ex-Amir, Meer Abbas Ali Khan, from all complicity in the Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur. A prisoner named Ranjit Manji accused the Meer of having countenanced a servant of his, named Urjoon Manji, a Ramgarh Santal and one of the leaders in the Santal insurrection in Chotanagpur. The same letter is found in the records preserved in the record room of the Commissioner of Chotanagpur at Ranchi. In that letter Mr. W. J. Allen stated that he did not obtain any evidence to make him believe that the Meer had been guilty of any direct or indirect participation in the Santal insurrection. Mr. Allen wrote a letter on December 10, 1855 to Captain Sissmore, officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, authorising him to offer a reward of Rs. 50/- for the apprehension of Urjoon Manjee who was charged with having been implicated in the Santal insurrection.

To get further information about Urjoon Manjee, a leader of the Santal disturbance in the district of Hazaribagh, I inspected the old records in the record room of the Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh during Christmas holidays of 1934. With the exception of a few letters to and from T. Tweedie, Deputy Magistrate at Burhee, and Captain E. Sissmore, the Principal Assistant Commissioner at Hazaribagh, the information obtained concerning the disturbance is meagre, as the records are very minor in importance consisting mainly of bills and vouchers, reports concerning jail, police, abkarry, and appointment, discharge, and transfer of officers high and low, etc.; in fact the records left are those which had at one time been recommended for destruction, but were later on preserved. The following account is compiled from the records preserved at Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Purulia.

The Senior Assistant Commissioner, Singbhum, stated in a letter dated July 21, 1855 that the Santals of his division were peaceable and industrious and were looked down upon by other tribes for their ignorance of the use of arms and patience under oppression, and he denied the report of their having joined the insurgents.

On the 26th of the same month the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, reported that the Santals of his place were ignorant of what was going on in Rajmahal and Bhagalpore and were employed in cultivating their lands.

But the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, wrote a letter to the Commissioner relative to the foundation of the rumour of Santals moving through Pachete. From his letters of the 3rd and 9th August, 1855 it appears that he knew that the Santals were ravaging and plundering the district of Beerbhum and Midnapore.

In a letter dated the 28th September, 1855 written from Camp Telia Mr. Tweedie reported that the Raja of Palgunge had sent an Urzee to him saying that the Santals had been murdering people at Narainpore about 4 miles from Serampore.

In a letter dated the 13th November, 1855 he informed the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, that "though there was no positive proof of the Santal population of this district being in communication with the insurgents of Beerbhoom and Bhagalpore, the general impression of the Zemindars and myself is that the whole Santal tribe are disaffected and only wait for an opportunity to join the rebels".

In a letter (no. 512) written from Camp Turai on the 21st January, 1856, the Commissioner, Chota Nagpore, informed Captain Edmund Sissmore, officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh Division, that he authorised him to disburse the reward of 58 rupees offered, with his sanction, for the apprehension of "Urjoon Manjie" to the person who was entitled to receive the same. The Commissioner requested Captain Sissmore to question Urjoon Manji regarding his supposed connection with the insurgent Sonthals of Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom. He annexed a copy of a deposition of Pirthee Sonthal taken before him at Hazaribagh in December last, and asked him to call upon Urjoon Manjie to explain the circumstances therein stated which seemed to indicate that he had been in communication with Seedoo Manjee and other rebellious Sonthals belonging to the Bhagalpore and Beerbhoom districts. He asked him to report the result of his examination of Urjoon Manjie and to detain him under surveillance till he received further orders from his office.

In a letter dated the 15th January, 1856 written from Camp Chyebassa to Captain E. Sissmore, Officiating Principal Assistant Commissioner, the Commissioner, Chotanagpur, approved of the measures Captain Sissmore had adopted towards the Sonthals in pergunahs Juggessure, Rampore, Singhpore and Tisna, who had been reported to have been manufacturing arms and otherwise showing indications of disaffection. The Commissioner, however, thought that there was probably much exaggeration in the statement of the petitioners. "If it be true that those Sonthals (*i.e.*, in the Ramgurh hills) are making preparations to disturb the peace, you will have the goodness to proceed yourself with a military force sufficient to prevent the outbreak.

3rd. You are requested to institute very searching enquiry into the conduct of the Ameer's Dependant Hadjee Ishak, and he should not be permitted to return to the moffussil till he has thoroughly cleared himself of these imputations.

4th. Mohun Santal and Jayram Manjee should be immediately apprehended".

On the 28th January again the Commissioner wrote to Captain Sissmore asking him to watch closely and judiciously the proceedings of Sonthals located in the Ramgurih hills in order to obtain any early information, should any symptoms of disaffection appear among them.

In a letter dated February 25, 1856 Mr. Tweedie informed the Commissioner that the Sonthals plundered Gandee, Chackerdar, Loodee and Doodear, all within his jurisdiction, and in a letter dated February 26 he reported of the march of Lt. James Commanding 44th Regiment, N.I., from Hazaribagh, two companies of which reached Burhee the following morning. On February 28, he requested that one company of Infantry might be posted at Khurackdea and another at Eliapore.

In letter no. 790 dated the 3rd March, 1856 the Secretary to the Government of Bengal informed Captain Sissmore that he had received his message by Electric Telegraph regarding disturbances in the Khurackdea pergunnah and informed him that the substance of his message had been communicated to the officers named in the margin (*viz.*, Brigadier L. S. Bird, Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Pergunnahs, and Joint Magistrate, Deoghur), and requested him to communicate with Brigadier Bird and the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Pergunnahs should he have reason to apprehend renewal of disturbance.

On the 3rd March Mr. Tweedie reported that Khurackdea Pergunnah was perfectly quiet, the presence of the military force having awed all evil minded persons and the plunder had ceased.

In a letter dated March 6, 1856 Mr. H. Strainforth, Commissioner of Santal Pergunnahs, informed the Deputy Magistrate of Burhee that Santals were assembling at Beemband, northwest of Deoghar, they left Buckedooa (Bagodar?) in the vicinity of Palgunge and had gone in the direction of Beemband; at Satgawn and Chuppadee houses of two Mahajans were plundered by the party of Lucka Thakoorai and Soobal of Beerbhoom district aided by the Santals of the ghatwals of Pathrore.

Mr. A. W. Russel, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in letter no. 869 dated the 7th March, 1856 wrote to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur saying that both Captain Sissmore and Mr. Tweedie appeared to have acted hastily and injudiciously in the matter of the disturbance at Gadee Serampore. Mr. Tweedie readily gave credence to the reports of the native police officers.

In letter no. 678 dated the 12th March, 1856 the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore wrote to Captain Sissmore regarding the police reports about plunder of the shops of two Moodies at Gadee Serampore by certain Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom Sonthals, opining that there was no apprehension of serious disturbance.

In a letter dated the 13th March, 1856 Mr. Tweedie informed Captain Sissmore that having got an urzee from the Raja of Serampore he went to

Chuckarda, but did not meet the rebels ; the work of officer Ensign Garton and the sepoys was most harrasing.

From Camp Serampore dated 28th March Mr. Tweedie informed the Principal Asst. to the Commissioner, Hazaribagh, that the pergunnah of Khurrackdeh was quiet and he heard nothing of the Santals''. Captain Sissmore reported on the 12th April, 1856 that a gang of Santals met at *Baromassie* and burnt the Ahliapore bazar. The officer commanding a Detachment of the 8th Regiment reported on April 18 about his military operations against the Santals. On April 19 Captain Sissmore reported that four hundred Santals met at Mujladdee and Gaddee Dorunda in the Kurruckdea pergunnah. In a letter dated April 25 Mr. Tweedie reported the movement of the Santals, and in a letter dated May 10 gave an account of his military operations against them on April, 29. In a letter dated May 11, 1856 Captain Sissmore reported that Major Jackson had been directed to proceed to Khurruckdea with 200 infantry and 75 cavalry to join the detachment under Lt. Murray. On May 15, 1856 Mr. Tweedie gave an account of his military operations against the Santals with assistance from Lts. Ryan and Murray. On May 17, Mr. W. R. E. Alexander, Offg. Junior Assistant Commissioner at Burhee, reported the movements of the Santals who proceeded towards the east. In letters dated the 18th, 24th, 28th and 30th May he reported about the measures adopted against the Santals at Ghorinjee, Ghundowri and other places.

In a letter dated July 21, 1857 the Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, reported about the exactions made by the Zemindars from the Santals.

There was some disaffection in Chota Nagpore during the Mutiny. The Santals took advantage of the unsettled condition of the country and created disturbances. Some of the wild tribes also gave a free play to their predatory instincts. Major Simpson, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh wrote a letter on September 7, 1857 to Captain E. J. Dalton, Commissioner Chota Nagpore Division, that 300 *budmashes* and Santals surrounded and attacked the house of Krishna Mahto of Mandoo ; they retreated on the arrival of a party of sowars and police who pursued them, killed and arrested some of the rebels, and he thought that this would have a good effect in checking the plundering propensities of the *chuars* of his district.

In a letter dated September 11, 1857 Captain Dalton informed the Secretary, Government of Bengal, that at Gola and Goomea a mixed body of Santals and others committed atrocious crimes and set at defiance the authority of the police, and that was the only part of his division in which there had been any serious combination.

In a letter dated September 12, 1857 Captain G. N. Oakes, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Manbhum, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, reporting the assemblage of 200 Santals at a village called Sidhee, 20 miles west of Raneegunge, and their depredations in the neighbouring villages.

In a letter dated September, 17 Major Simpson wrote to Captain Dalton intimating that the police reports from the thanas of Goomea and Raghur gave an unfavourable account of the tranquillity of the country in the south east portion of his district. The Santals with numerous other *budmashes*, Chuars, Ghatwals, and others had collected in great numbers amounting to thousands and plundered numerous villages and perpetrated murders in the villages of Kusmar and Jangee all within a circle little more than ten miles from Gola, that lawless band of plunderers headed by Koka Kumar and Santals accompanied by the son of Beharee Purgunait of Augwallee, assembled at the village of Eoga about 10 or 12 miles from Ramghur, and that there was a similar assemblage of *budmashes* in or near the Jeypore estate in the Manbhum district. He also informed him that on the night of the 13th and morning of the 14th September, several hundred armed Santals had assembled in an open place near Jhurpo for the purpose of plundering the place, that he deputed a detachment of 70 Sikhs including 10 men of the Ramghur Battalion who had remained loyal, under Lieutenants Graham and Earle proceeded to the village of Rupo Manjee, the leader of the marauders on the 14th and found his house full of plundered property ; that the proceedings of Lt. Graham's detachment were successful and well executed, that the example he had made of the lawless marauders and the destruction of the leader's house would have the effect in repressing the outrages, and that no houses other than Rupo's were burnt. On September 16 Captain Dalton wrote to Major Simpson sanctioning a reward of Rs. 100 for the apprehension of Rupo Manjee.

On September 16, 1857 Captain Dalton reported from Hazaribagh that Lt. Graham marched against some two to three hundred Santals who surrounded the house of a relative of Ramghur Raja. The rebels discharged a flight of arrows at Graham's party and wounded some of his men, whereupon his Sikhs and cavalry charged and dispersed them, having killed and wounded some rebels and taken other prisoners. The prisoners confessed that under orders of Raghu Manjee they had been engaged in plundering.

Mr. E. Grey reported from Govindpore that the people in his jurisdiction were suffering, especially the Santals, from scarcity of food, and his jail was rapidly filling with confessing prisoners, who had been driven to crime for the sake of procuring something to eat.

In a letter dated September 20, 1857 Captain G. N. Oakes wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, that the number of Santals at Sidhee, a village near Jeypore, had greatly increased, and that they had begun to attack and plunder the bazar of Jeypore not more than 20 miles from Purulia, that a fight had taken place between the Santals and the Jeypore Zemindar's men, that he had sent 400 ghatwals to their assistance but the force was insufficient ; the Sikh detachment which was at Purulia could not be spread, because in such a crisis the sudder station should not be left undefended. The Zamindar of Burrabhoom and Mokoond Narayan Deo of Manbhum were of course affording him great assistance, but still he needed further help and solicited him for the despatch of 300 men and two guns in addition to 100

muskets and sufficient magazine. On September 22 he reported to Capt. Dalton that a large body of Santals, about 600 in number, had collected 5 miles west of Jeypore and plundered many villages and murdered many men ; that he had sent off 100 Sikh volunteers under Captain Montgomery, and Mr. Perry and Mr. Hayes. He thought that Raja Nilmoney Singh, the Zemindar of Pachete, who had been in communication with Bissonath Shaw (*sic*, Sahai?) of Barkagarh and the mutinous Ramghur battalion of sepoys, had been secretly inciting the Santals, but other Zamindars helped Captain Oakes according to their means. On September 23 he reported that the most disturbed part of his district was between Gola of Ramghur district and Chass of Purulia district where the Santals were committing depredations and levying contributions. In consequence of serious disturbances perpetrated by Santals in northern and western parts of his district Captain Oakes could not dispense with the Sikhs. The Pachete Zemindar would give him no assistance, but was sending emissaries. Gangs of Santals who had plundered Gola Chutterpore, and other villages of the Ramghur estate ceased from depredations since the column under Major English marched through Ramghur, but they had accumulated immense plunder and committed a number of murders.

From the records preserved in the record room of the Deputy Commissioner at Purulia it appears that Captain Dalton wrote a letter to Captain Oakes on September 25 regretting that he was not in a position to send him troops from his place but that he had instructed Major Simpson to proceed with a detachment of Sikhs to Golah for repressing the disturbance between Golah and Jeypore. On the same day he wrote to Major Simpson informing him that marauding gangs of Santals and others in the south-east frontier portion of Hazaribagh had retired, that they had secured a vast quantity of plunder, but there was a large collection of Santals near Jeypore and asked him to proceed as soon as possible to Gola with about 100 Sikhs to co-operate with Captain Oakes.

It appears that Urjoon Manjee had a sinister hand in these disturbances. Dubergunjhoo, Rewajah Manjee and he were ringleaders. In a letter dated September 26, 1857 Captain Dalton wrote to Major Simpson sanctioning rewards for their apprehension.

On October 5, 1857 Captain Dalton informed the Secretary to Government, Bengal, that the accounts from Purulia were favourable as there was no fresh gathering of Santals in Jeypore direction since Captain Montgomery visited that part of the country with his Sikhs. On October 13 he wrote that on the approach of Capt. Montgomery the Santals withdrew from Manbhum and reappeared in the eastern parts of the Hazaribagh district.

On October 9, 1857 Major Simpson reported to Mr. A. R. Young, Secretary to Government of Bengal, of a serious rising of Chuars and Santals in the direction of Goomea Chuttee on the old Benares and Calcutta Trunk Road where they had burnt the thana and looted the Chuttee, they numbered seven to ten thousand, that as he had 150 men belonging to the Sikh troops he could not send them without leaving the station of Hazaribagh denuded of troops, and he requested that Major English with the Europeans under



his command might be permitted to remain at Hazaribagh to enable him easily to send the Sikh detachment to deal with the wild tribes.

In a letter dated October 10, 1857 the Secretary to Govt., Bengal, informed the Commissioner that he had received information from Lt. Graham that the latter made two attacks on a gang of Santal marauders at Narrainpore.

On November 2, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that a detachment of 100 Sikhs exclusive of commissioned and non-commissioned officers had been directed some days back to Goomea to put down disturbance still existing in that quarter, and that it was absolutely necessary to check the Chuars who had been carrying away the crops of the well-disposed, otherwise utmost destitution and famine must arise in those parts of the division.

In a letter dated November 21, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that there had been no further disturbances in the past week, that 25 men had been under trial, 18 of them had been convicted, 3 of whom viz., Thakoor Seeban Sing, Thakur Kamalnath Singh and Thakur Govin Sing, who had instigated the Chuars had been sentenced to death, 4 transported for life and the remainder to banishment for 16 years each. He also annexed a copy of the report of Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh, describing his progress in the eastern parts of the district with the detachment of Sikhs under Lt. Earle, and reported that subsequent to Lt. Earle's detachment leaving Chulkeree, Thakur Gunpat Deo of Hoser Sarum had seized Urjoon Santal and Ram Manjee, two leaders of the insurgent Chuars.

Mr. W. de George, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh reported on November 16, 1857 to Major Simpson of his return to Hazaribagh from a tour towards the eastern part of the district having passed through Digwar, Chuttro, Gomeaband, Chulkinree, Augbalee, Chundipore, Gola Ramghur and Mandhoo; that on reaching the Damoodah (Damodar river) he saw a party of Santals about 80 in number, and on his crossing the river, the Santals fled to a village about a quarter of mile distant, . . . . at Chundipore he burnt Koka Kumar's house . . . . he proceeded to Gola and returned by Ramghur Hazaribagh, he found a great portion of the records at Gomea thana burnt and destroyed, the rebels under Koka Kumar took refuge in the hills east of Gola, between Chundipore and Jeypore, the others at Sagoo hill.

On December 12, 1857 Major Simpson informed Captain Dalton that as the presence of a detachment was still necessary in the eastern and north easter parts of Gola pergunnah he urged the retention of the detachment of Sikhs under Lt. Earle in that quarter.

From a letter dated December 29, 1857 in the Purulia records we find that the Commissioner, Chota Nagpur, forwarded to the Senior Assistant Commissioner Manbhum, a letter from the Magistrate of Balasore intimating to him of the capture of a man who was instigating the Santals in the northern portion of his district.

It appears that Urjoon Manji and his colleagues had escaped and were still at large in 1860 as may be conjectured from a letter dated September 16, 1860 from the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal

relative to the reward of Rs. 200 for the apprehension of Dubergunjhoo, Urjoon Manji and Rwajah Manji, the ringleaders.

In his letter dated the 17th Dec. 1855 Mr. W. J. Allen wrote that the Ex-Amir, Meer Abbas Ali Khan, had a grand hunting party at Nurkundie and that he invited Mr. W. C. Spencer, the Offg. Principal Assistant, and Dr. Kelly, the Civil Assistant Surgeon to join his party and both these gentlemen were with the Ameer from the beginning to the end of the shooting excursion.

I find from the records that in a letter dated the 27th May, 1852 the Commissioner informed Dr. J. P. Kelly that he was appointed Civil Assistant Surgeon of Hazaribagh. From a letter dated January 26, 1848 from Agent, Governor General and Commissioner, South West Frontier to Under-Secretary, Government of Bengal, it appears that Asst. Surgeon J. P. Kelley was the Civil Surgeon of Poorulia, in another letter dated 18th May 1848 there is a reference to his having made an application for the establishment of a district and bazar hospital at Purulia.

In letter no. 2231 dated August 29, 1855 the Under Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, informed Mr. W. C. Spencer, Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, that Government had appointed him Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the second grade from 6th July, 1855. In a letter (no. 443) dated the 10th October, 1855 he was directed to proceed to Murshidabad to join his appointment there, and he made over charge to Capt. Sissmore on October 15.

Edmund Sissmore, Captain of the 69th Regiment N.I., sworn in on the 15th October, 1855, before Mr. W. C. Spencer, took from the latter charge of the office of the Principal, Assistant Commissioner, Hazaribagh.

Mr. Tweedie took charge of the sub-division of Burhee relieving Mr. J. W. Broadhurst on September 26, 1855. He was regarded as an inefficient officer by Govt.

Mr. W. de George was transferred from Dorundah to Hazaribagh on 27th September, 1855.

There is an interesting letter in the records at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, no. 31 dated 29th December 1851 from J. H. Crawford, Agent, Governor General, South West Frontier, to Major J. C. Hannynnton, Deputy Commissioner, Chota Nagpore :

"I have the honour to forward to you an original letter to me from Dr. Collum, Superintendent of the Ex-Ameers of Scinde at Hazaribagh, respecting proceedings in the Criminal Court of that district in a case in which a confidential follower of one of the Ex-Ameers was the accused party.

2. As Dr. Collum's functions relating to the Ex-Ameers require that all legitimate facilities should be afforded to him for obtaining correct information on matters in which they or any of their followers may be involved, I think it is to be regretted that the Principal Sudder Ameen should have withheld from him permission to obtain copies according to the mode authorised by Col. 4 Sect. XVI of Regulation 26 of 1814.

5. . . . . I have been informed that one reason of his having arrested the Scindian Mean Mohomed Hosein Khan in the manner objected to by the Ex-Ameer Hossein Ali Khan . . . . ."

R. Collum, Esq., M.D., was the Superintendent of Agency Jail, Hazaribagh.

There is a letter no. 418 dated 28th September, 1855 from the Commissioner, Chota Nagpore to Mr. Spencer on the subject of converting a bungalow "at present occupied by His Highness Meer Abbas Ali Khan" to be turned into public offices. There is a letter no. 474 dated 29th October, 1855 from Commissioner to Captain Sissmore "on the proposal of converting Sir Walter Gilbert's bungalow and the one next to it lately occupied by the Ameer" into public offices.

There is a mahalla at Hazaribagh called Nawabgunge alleged to be named after the ex-Ameers of Sind.

KALIPADA MITRA.

---

## John Barleycorn Bahadur Old Time Taverns in India.

---

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,  
Where'er his stages may have been,  
May sigh to think he still has found  
The warmest welcome at an inn."  
*William Shenstone.*

"I would not labour, I, nor sing,  
Advertisement's vain tide to swell :  
But he hath found a goodly thing  
Who finds a comfortable hotel.

Here guests are free to come and go,  
To lounge, or laugh, to work or play ;  
To eat and drink, or fast—and lo !  
The night is even as the day."

In the early days a journey to India was an arduous undertaking. Gemelli Careri, an Italian who came in 1692 mentions four ways of getting there, the best in his opinion being across Asia Minor and Persia. The sea route he condemned as there "was much danger to life or at least to health in the midst of these horrible tempests and tedious calms, which keep the spirit in continual alarm, while the body is entirely fed on spoiled food, and one drinks no water which is not tainted and full of worms."

Rough as the journey may have been, travellers did not always find their troubles at an end when they reached their destination. The voyage was not the worst part of the journey and many harassed souls must have been in full accord with the Hindu philosopher who declared travel to be a foretaste of hell.

Where to stay on arrival at an Indian port must have been an anxious problem to most travellers owing to the "absence of inns for the convenience of travellers." Apparently there were places where strangers were given shelter and treated on equality with Indian people. Herbert, writing of his day (1627) states "At Band Alley we found a neat caravanseraw built by men's charity to give all civil passengers a resting place *gratis* ; to keep them from the injury of theeves, beastes, weather etc."

The Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XXXVII, states that in the middle of the 17th Century, "the rest-houses (at Bijapur) for the free accommoda-

tion of travellers, were so luxuriously appointed that men said of them "to rest therein was for the weary to taste the medicine of felicity."

Edward Terry, Rector of Great Greenford who arrived at Surat with Sir Thomas Roe on September 24th 1615 tells of an English cook who came with the Mission of whom it was said, "he was at least as anxious to provide good liquor for himself as savoury viands for his master." This cook was a drunken swash-buckler who nearly brought extermination to the other members of the party. Terry expressed the opinion that "tippling-houses, which are the Devil's nursery, the very tents wherein Satan dwells, where Almighty God receives abundance of dishonour ; drunkenness being a sin which hath hands and fingers to draw all other sins unto it ; for a drunkard can do anything or be anything but good."

John Ovington in "A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689," states that he arrived at Bombay at the beginning of the Monsoon ; "September and October, those two months which immediately follow the Rains, are very pernicious to the Health of Europeans ; in which two Moons more of them die than generally in all the year besides . . . . ." "And the unhealthfulness of the water bears a just proportion to the scarcity and meanness of the Diet and both of them together with a bad Air, make a sudden end of many a poor Sailer and Souldier, who pay their lives for hopes of a livelihood."

Although da Silveira in 1529 christened Bombay "The Island of Good Life" because his sailors enjoyed rest and refreshment there, the unhealthiness was proverbial. Fryer termed it a charnel-house. The swamps left by the sea at low tide must have been as bad for health as the intemperance of the Europeans themselves. In addition there was the "stinking of the Fish which was used to be applied to the Roots of the trees instead of Dung" making Bombay even worse than Coleridge's opinion of Cologne.

"In Koln, a town of monks and bones,  
And pavements fanged with murderous stones,  
And rags, and hags, and hideous wenches ;  
I counted two and seventy stenchs."

Ovington states that of 24 passengers who arrived with him at Bombay at the commencement of the rains, twenty, and fifteen of the ship's company perished before the rains had ceased.

Old writers have said that the Portugese, when they settled anywhere, began building a church ; the Dutch, by building a fort, and the English by building a tavern. In Cochin some years ago, the progress of deterioration was still in evidence. The old Cathedral erected to the glory of God by Albuquerque, or Vasca da Gama was turned into a fort by the Dutch, and later, a British public house was superimposed on both.

The Church and the tavern were long connected in England. Beer and Bible have won more elections than any other combination and it might be brought to memory that it was not until 1827 that a license was withdrawn from a church-tavern in Deepdale, a village between Derby and Nottingham, which had a door between the altar and the tap room.

Daniel Defoe was struck by that for he wrote—

“Whenever God erects a House of Prayer,  
The Devil always builds a Chapell there,  
And 'twill be found upon examination  
The latter has the largest congregation.”

Which sounds quite all right but one should remember there are a thousand ways of being bad and only one of being good.

### BOMBAY TAVERNS.

According to official records dated August 13th 1694 John Wright obtained permission to keep a tavern in Bombay. To give an idea of the minutiae to which legislation descended at that time it was ordered that, “if any man comes into a victualling house to drink punch, he may demand one quart of good Goa arrack, half a pound of sugar, and half a pint of good lime water, and make his own punch. And if the bowle be not marked with the clerk of the market’s seale, then the bowle may be freely broken without paying anything either for the bowle or the punch.”

“Cases of poisoning were said to be frequent at these taverns. The rude manners of British seamen led them to use a freedom with the dark ladies who frequented such places, for which they occasionally paid the penalty of their lives. A rough kiss was given when a tar was under the excitement of liquor, or an offensive piece of raillery would so disgust “the black wench” whose employment it was to make that “beloved mixture, punch or arak,” that she would contrive with a subtle skilfulness to make the bowl fatal to the man who abused her, whilst his companions drank without the slightest injury to themselves.”

“The English in Western India,”  
Philip Anderson, A.M.  
pp. 131-2 (1854.)

It was a rough world. Edward Terry tells us that “it was usual then for parents or guardians to send unruly spirits out to India, that they might make their graves in the sea or on the Indian shore.” This, he calls a very cleanly conveyance for parents to be rid of their unruly children.

Charles Raikes who wrote “The Englishman in India” adds to this. “It was usual to send out several criminals, sentenced to death in England and respited, to be turned loose on any newly discovered shore by our early mariners. A batch of these “Newgate birds” as they were called, generally went out with each Indian fleet.” (1867) pp. 31-32.

In 1782 “Houses of entertainment began to be established in Bombay. “W. Chambers and David Echlin desiring they may be permitted to keep such institutions for strangers”. The Board permitted the request, drew up regulations and a scale of rates for them; and four years later permitted Mr. Ogilvie Geddes to establish “a well-regulated punch-house without the town walls,” hoping that European soldiers and seamen would no longer be

forced to purchase "from the Bhandaris and others strong inflammatory liquors." One of the best known buildings in Bombay was Mr. Hornby's Great House, which stands in his name in the Bombay Collector's rent roll for the first time in 1771. Subsequently it was used as an Admiralty house ; and has been improved and converted by a later generation into the Great Western Hotel, facing the main gate of the Government Dockyard."

"The Rise of Bombay, (1902). A Retrospect." S. M. Edwardes, p. 203.

Major David Price, who spoke highly of the place in which he stayed on arrival in Madras, found himself, later in the Bombay Hotel, at that period kept by Mr. Macfarlane. That was in 1782 and he complained of being robbed of all the money he had the first night he spent in the place.

According to James Douglas who gives a long list of hotels and taverns, the Races Banquet was held at the Bombay Hotel in 1799. Duncan Cameron became the sole proprietor some years later. "Cameron", says Douglas, "is immortalised in the page and picture of "Qui Hi."

"Quiz," the author, used a powerful pen with which he attacked much in Anglo-Indian life of the times ; he is sympathetic in part, but his book makes sad reading. The title runs—

"The GRAND MASTER, or ADVENTURES of QUI HI in HINDOSTAN, a HUDIBRASTIC POEM in EIGHT CANTOS BY QUIZ." (1816).

The poem is the life story of a lad arriving as a Cadet. Apparently he first served in Bengal then sailed to Bombay and on arriving at the Bunder-Head,—

"On this occasion, he thought fit,  
'Twould, very likely, be as well  
To leave his trunks at the hotel."

\* \* \* \* \*

"And thus our travellers contrive,  
At Duncan's tavern to arrive,  
Our host a rough spun child of nature,  
Evinc'd the Scot in ev'ry feature.—  
An honest, plain, blunt, knowing fellow,  
Who lov'd a joke, and would get mellow.  
With such a landlord, QUI HI could  
Not feel displeas'd much, if he would.  
Ere Boniface could well appear,  
QUI HI exclaim'd aloud for beer :  
He got some, but so very bad,  
It almost made our hero mad ;  
He curs'd the Moorman that had brought it,  
Ask'd him what kind of beer he thought it :  
And ere a word the fellow said,  
He threw the tumbler at his head.

The servants run on ev'ry side  
 Some strive in vain, themselves to hide—  
 Some leave their billiards, some their tiffin  
 To see what they all thought a griffin.  
 At length arriv'd old Boniface,  
 And interceded to make peace ;  
 He never could believe it true,  
 His beer ! the cause, and sour stuff too,—  
 For he could make it soon appear,  
 'Twas in his godown a *whole year* ;  
 But if he was for beer inclin'd,  
 Another sort he'd quickly find.  
 He then told Bhikajee to go,  
 "And get another, where you know ;"  
 For Duncan was not such a goose,  
 To keep bad beer for *his own use*.  
 The other bottle made amends,  
 And guest and landlord soon are friends.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our hero now, while dinner waited,  
 The Bombay tavern contemplated :  
 But first the chairs attract his eye,—  
 They each engrain'd with *sans souci* :  
 This made the novice stand and stare—  
 In India people without care !  
 The word was only *on the chair*."

And so on for 252 pages with informative notes which show an intimate knowledge of Indian life. But, from what one learns later it was the practice to import bad beet.

The hostelry referred to must have been Duncan Cameron's Bombay Hotel and Tavern which was for many years the resort of the celebrated Sans Souci Club, which entertained Sir Arthur Wellesley.

From what one read in racy contemporary novels, throwing bottles, glasses, or boots at servants' heads was a common practice not only in India, that is if there is any truth in Lever's yarns. No wonder there have been so many servants' problems.

Many who wrote their reminiscences a hundred and fifty years ago referred to the absence of hotels and taverns yet, in making these assertions, the names of taverns constantly occur ; bad as they undoubtedly were, there seems to have been quite a lot of them.

Mrs. Maria Graham, wife of a Captain in the Royal Navy, authoress of "A Journal of a Residence in India" (1813) writes from Bombay on May 28, 1809 as follows :—

"As there is but one tavern in Bombay, and that is by no means fit for the reception of ladies, the hospitality of the British inhabitants is always



exercised towards new-comers, till they can provide a place of residence for themselves." That, apparently was Duncan Cameron's "Bombay Hotel and Tavern".

Her book is a pleasant piece of work, well illustrated, but, according to "Quiz" in "Qui Hi," she apparently ruffled the feathers of the "inhabitants" when she "properly made use of the term "Colonists" though the doggrel critics in India attempted to murder her fame.

In "Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India," James Douglas states that "On May 9, 1800, a number of gentlemen dined at Maclean's Hotel to commemorate the capture of Seringapatam".

By 1820 the number of taverns had increased. Figures for October of that year give—"The Bombay Tavern par excellence." "The Mighty Tavern of the East." "In the Fish and Vegetable Bazaar are the "Country Tavern", the "Duke of Wellington", The "Lord Nelson", the "Bootfull of Mischief" and the "Chinaman's Tavern".

November 30th 1825.—"A small party at Mr. Cresselman's Hotel held a St. Andrew's Dinner. There was haggis and Glenlivet."

September 1826. The Elphinstone Arms shut up.

November 1835. The Albion Hotel. R. T. Hart.

December 14, 1837. Victoria Hotel opened, 15 Apollo Street.

August 24, 1839. A Bombay Hotel Company started to supply the want of a good hotel.

March 30, 1842. "It is remarked "there is no Hotel in Bombay at present hence a Joint Stock Hotel and Boarding House Company is started with a capital of 2 lakhs."

It has been said that an Englishman will die for his home but never for his boarding house. When one has lived in those dreadful places where a poverty stricken landlady tries to save on everything she buys and then, when illness ensues she explains it by saying you have a chill on the stomach one understand that. There may be good boarding houses but there is generally less liberty and worse food than in a hotel of the same class. Accommodation is better—temptation is less but if the pub is half way between the club and the bazaar, the boarding house is below the pub.

November 26, 1842. The British Hotel and Boarding House, Apollo Street—Mrs. Blackwell announced that on December 10th of that year a big dinner was given to James Outram, (The Bayard of India.)

A famous Bombay hotel-boarding house was Hope Hall, located at Mazagaon in 1837. Sir D. E. Wacha refers to it and Douglas gives in full the cost of living in the best places in Bombay between 1845 and 1850.

#### HOPE HALL FAMILY HOTEL

"The proprietor of the above establishment has spared neither expense nor trouble to deserve the distinguished patronage with which he has been honoured, and the continuance of which he most respectfully solicits.

"The house is situated in Mazagon, on one of the most agreeable, healthy, and fashionable spots of the island, and contains apartments particularly well adapted for families. Every room has a bathing place, etc., attached to it, and there is a number of single and double pole tents, with very desirable accommodation for single gentlemen. A bungalow containing a billiard table is set apart for smoking, which is not allowed in the house.

"The meals, consisting of breakfast, tiffin, and dinner besides coffee and tea, are served Table d'Hote or separately as may be desired.

"For passengers by the Overland route, boats are kept ready to take them on shore as soon as the steamer is anchored. An agent of the establishment will take care and bring to the hotel the luggage, which every passenger is requested to point out to him. Arrived on shore an omnibus belonging to the establishment will bring ladies and gentlemen to the Hotel.

"The proprietor, importing most of the articles of luxury, including beer, wine, and liquors, from England and France direct, is enabled to offer the best choice at reasonable rates.

"There are conveyances of all kinds in the establishment to be had at a moment's notice.

#### TERMS OF BOARDING

"Board and lodging for a person occupying one room and taking meals at the Table d'Hote :—

Per month	...	...	...	...	Rs. 130
Fortnight	...	...	...	...	Rs. 75
Day	...	...	...	...	Rs. 6
Children and European servants Rs. 2 per diem.					

J. M. SCHULHOF.

"The proprietor begs most respectfully to draw the attention of messes, families, etc., to his stock of claret, champagne, and other foreign wines and liquors imported by him, which he offers at very low rates if taken from his godown.

"N.B.—Board and lodging for a gentleman or lady in their own rooms :—

Per day	...	...	...	...	Rs. 7
Fortnight	...	...	...	...	Rs. 85
Month	...	...	...	...	Rs. 160

#### REDUCED CHARGES OF BOARD AND LODGING FOR FAMILIES

	Old charge	New charge
Lady and Gentleman, Fortnight	Rs. 150	110
Lady and Gentleman, Table d'hote, per month	Rs. 260	220
Lady and Gentleman, Private, per month	Rs. 320	260
Lady and Gentleman, Private, Fortnight	Rs. 170	150

## CARRIAGE.

1 horse conveyance, month	...	...	Rs. 150	100
Do. do. Fortnight	...	...	Rs. 75	60
2 horse conveyance, per month	...	...	Rs. 300	200
Do. do. Fortnight	...	...	Rs. 150	110

The author, Mr. James Douglas goes on—

"This is a most important document, No question has been more discussed than the cost of living in Bombay, and whether it has been increased or diminished during the past half-century. But something has to be said on the other side, for exchange overshadows European life in India, and makes the life of many scarce worth living out here.

"Hotel expenses mean rent, taxes, servants' wages, lights, and other items of bed and board. Readers of this document will form their own conclusions. Of course, in addition to the items we have named, there are many luxuries we have added which have become necessities ; but confining ourselves to strictly hotel expenditure, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that there is no difference whatever between 1845 and 1895. The value of the rupee, *quoad* all other things, from gold down to coolies' wages, is quite another story. Leaving economists to pursue the subject, we gather from this announcement that smokers were less liberally dealt with than at present, and that the word "bath-room" had not as yet found a place in the hotel owner's dictionary. (The exchange rate in 1895 was 1/0½d. per rupee.)

The ban on smoking reminds me of an experience on board a small steamer which runs between Brisbane and Bribie Island. The saloon was luxuriously furnished with a long dining table covered with black American cloth and comfortable wooden forms. The waitresses or stewardesses quite nice girls and totally destitute of side, sat on the table with their feet on the form chatting amiably to passengers,—everything quite homely. While admiring the democratic nature of the outfit my eye was attracted by a notice hanging in conspicuous places which read:—

"GENTLEMEN WILL NOT SMOKE.  
OTHERS MUSTN'T."

To use Mr. J. Douglas's own words—"Let us turn to the following Bombay advertisement of 1845. We give it with its bad spelling, grammar and punctuation":—

## "BRITISH HOTEL, BOMBAY.

"For the Accommodation of Families and Gentlemen. These specious premises are desirably situate in the Fort, and wethin five minutes walk of the Banks of Dock Yard, Custom House and principal House of Agency.

"Wines and liquors of the best description. Tiffins and Dinners sent out on short notice.

T. Blackwell, Proprietor.

But that is not so unfortunate as a more modern advertisement which offered "Lodgings for respectable men and commercial travellers." or an incident in the Scottish Highlands when two men complained of the high charge for drinks and the landlord took it up in earnest demanding to be told by the waiter—"How dare you charge these two men gentlemen's prices?"

Sir D. E. Wacha states, "About that period (1845) there were several taverns that would not be termed in those days any more than third-rate grogshops. Half a dozen were scattered in the locality of Sonarpur, mostly frequented by soldiers and sailors and low-class clerks and others of the same kidney. Their names have been saved by the "Bombay Gazeteer." One was called "Parsi George" and the other "Portuguese George." A third tavern had the name of "Paddy Goose." We knew of one called the "Green Railing Tavern."

"Anyhow these taverns were the haunts of low-class folk and in many ways disreputable by reason of the vulgar Venuses of the locality who were to be seen there angling. (Bombay Ducks?) The barmaids did not come into vogue for another twenty years."

"Dr. Moses' Sketches" states in 1851 that "A single man may live most comfortably on £100 a year."

1850. June 1st. Benson's Hotel, Rampart Row, opened.

1852. June 21st. Sailors' Home, Sanatoriums and Hotels! Filthy. (Apparently that word was not advertised).

1856, February 26th. Good entertainment for gentlemen and parties visiting this delightful station. Matheran Hotel, R. Basteon.

January, 1857. The "Bombay Quarterly Review" says:—"A broker introduced at a festive dinner at the Family Hotel, the Theodore Hook of the Fort Community, extracts a yellow handkerchief from his white jacket and sings. Considered a wonderful and inimitable being."

1858, March 4th. All liquor shops to be closed on Sundays between 10 A.M. and 1-30 P.M. and from 5 to 8 in the evening.

1859, April 1st. There is a goodly show of hotels. One paper says:—"If people must stand on their dignity there is The Hope Hall; if convenience is preferred above fashion there is The British and English Hotel in the Fort."

Pallonji, an enterprising Parsi opened the Adelphi in that year. A list of names of residents was published in the Bombay papers on July 16th. "Apart from his courtesy, affability, everything to all men and women, he learnt by practical experience that "terms positively cash" ought not to be inflexible in hotel management. A little judicious relaxation was essential." There is much truth in that. Break up a small crowd who meet to drink in company by stopping the credit of one, and it is possible to lose the active support of half a dozen. Hotel keepers have to take more risks from credit than other business men. "Pallonji was always ready with his purse for the needy and never dragged any one into court." (His bad debts must have been large).

On August 30th. 1864, Watson, a wealthy draper, bought from Government a plot of land, bidding against the Bombay Club, for Rs. 110 per

square yard, then considered a fabulous price. On it he built Watson's Hotel and annexe, a large rambling building, which are far in advance of the hotels of the day. It was completed in 1870 and Sir D. E. Wacha relates that "I vividly recollect how I paid Rs. 20 for a ticket of admission to the newly built terrace at the top to view the magnificent fireworks, in honour of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh."

At that time various theatrical companies came to the city, including the troupe of Dave Carson, the humorist.

In 1890 I stayed a month in Watson's and paid, to the best of my recollection, four rupees a day. At that rate the menu was no better than that of a dak bungalow, but the rooms were large and comfortable, and price was then, to me, the first consideration.

Major General Sir H. Hallam Parr, in 1894 put up at a Bombay Hotel "Which is an appalling place, frightfully crowded with English and Anglo-Indians, who all have at least two servants. There is no attempt at servants' accommodation and those servants have to lie about as best they can. You may imagine the overcrowding of the narrow passages. Every vantage-point is taken up by a little encampment of ayah or khitmagar and bearer, etc., The feeding and coffee-room arrangements were quite indescribably bad—e.g. the first day our tea for breakfast was brought to us sugared and milked. Friction always between our own servants and the hotel servants—in fine, more discomfort and ten times the fuss that one would have in a dauk bungalow, and almost London prices to pay."

#### MADRAS TAVERNS.

The English were not long in Madras before they established taverns which soon gained a bad reputation. A letter written in 1659 states—"There is one thing more that I shall propose to your Worship's consideration which in my opinion seems somewhat incongruous to the good Government of the Soldiers in the Honble Companies Fort—vizt, That foure of the cheife officers belonging to the Garrison should be suffered to keep Punch Houses ; for by this meanes they that should see good Order keep amongst the Soldiers doe, for their owne benefit, occasion the greatest disorder."

Apparently "Cheife officers of the Garrison" were not the only delinquents. Further references of about the same date are found.

"Also, having had many complaints of the disorderleyness of the souldiers of this Garrison, occasioned through the multiplicity of punch and victualling houses, it is now resolved that no unmarried persons be permitted to keep houses of entertainment, and only such as shall be permitted by the Governor ; and that no souldier or any other be permitted to stay at any of the said victualling houses after ringing of the bell for 8 of the Clock of the Evening . . . .

"It is also resolved. for the encouragement of those that are in the Honble Companys service, that none that are out of their service shall keepe a house of Entertainment."

That the taverns were the resort of bad hats out for anything from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter everybody seemed to admit. Those were the days when doctors and tavern keepers suffered from a precocious hardening of the heart which did not kill them but was often fatal to others. Then there were outcast ruffians who houcussed and robbed strangers when they were drunk, or asleep and other attractions which came to the same thing in the end. As Byron put it—

“What men call gallantry and the gods call adultery  
Is much more common where the climate is sultry.”

Stories were told of officers, men in their thirties, inducing new arrivals, often mere children to drink and gamble. And if, after winning their money, they dared complain about the ungentlemanly manner in which they had been swindled, well, pistols for two and coffee for the good shot were there for the asking, and no need to ask twice either.

In August, 1678, all tavern-keepers were directed to appear at the Court of Judicature to take out licenses. The licence authorized the Publican to retail ‘any kind of Wine, Beere, Rum, or other Europe Liquors ; Punch, Arrack, or other Indian Liquors ; and to keepe a common Victualling house, or house of entertainment.’ The licences were farmed to John Barker for one year at 205 Pagodas. (“Pagoda”—about eight shillings.)

“The Keepers of Taverns, Punch houses and Arrack houses appeared at Court againe this day, and then there was read to them a paper of proposalls and Articles concerning the Renting and farming of Licences for selling of all sorts of Liquors by Retaile ; which the greatest part well approved, and some of the poorer sort liked it not so well :—

#### ARTICLES TO BE OBSERVED.

“Imprimis. That you hang out a Sign that your house be knowne to be a publicke house of Entertainment. . . .

“6. That you keepe in your house 2 Cottis for Strangers, with cleane Linnen and good accommodation, wholesome Dyett and Liquor ; and you shall not refuse to entertaine such as shall desire the same.

“7. That you shall not sell any kind of Wine at above  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pagoda the pottle Bottle, English beer not exceeding 6 fanams the pottle Bottle, Mum not exceeding 8 fanams the quart Bottle, punch not exceeding 5 fanams a Bowle or a quart of Goa or Paryar Arrack, Goa Arrack not exceeding  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fanams the quart, Bengale Arrack not exceeding 4 fanams the quart. . . . (“Fanam” about  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ )

“These orders thus for to be translated into Portuguez, and to be hung up at the ffort Gate in English, and at the Choultry in Portuguez for all persons concerned to take notice thereof.” (Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. 1. p. 44.)

In spite of constant references to the absence of accommodation for strangers, taverns in the older times sprang up like mushrooms—or, shall it

be said—toadstools? Certainly their lives appear to have been as brief as a cut flower, but poor as they were, they were many.

A record dated 10th November 1754 states—“We have sometimes been put to great inconveniences in accommodating Strangers ; such We mean whose Stations or Characters entitle them to publick notice, If your Honours will permit Us to set apart one of the Confiscated houses for that purpose, and furnish it decently, it would answer that End. At present Strangers are obliged to take up with what conveniences are to be met with in a Punch House.”

It was not the privilege of everybody to be allowed to put up in the better class of taverns. “Keeping of a House of Entertainment for the reception of Strangers and unsettled Persons” was permitted “on condition that He will not entertain any Person under the Degree of a Commission’d Officer, Officers of Ships, or other upon the footing of a Gentleman.” (29th January, 1760.)

Amongst the New Rules drawn up for the Madras Garrison in 1741 it is stated that—“A regulation forbidding soldiers to keep public houses was modified, so as to render such employment permissible whenever European shipping was in the roads. At such times the men were nevertheless to appear for drill as usual. On the departure of the ships their extra-regimental work ceased.”

Major David Price who enlisted in the Company’s army and was given a cadetship after embarkation before the ship sailed from Gravesend, landed in August 1781, “in perfect safety, in Madras roads ; just one hundred and sixty-two days from the period at which we quitted Portsmouth.”

Having been given an advance of two months cadets’ pay, “We had taken up our abode at Richard’s Hotel, on the outskirts of that arid plane, which then extended from the glacis of the fort to the suburbs known by the designation of the Black town ; where we were hospitably entertained at a pagoda (8s.) a day ; our daily pay as cadets, amounting to no more than one rupee (2s. 6d.) so that it might have been almost truly said, that we spent—“Half-a-crown out of sixpence a day.” He goes on,

“This was however a system of finance too ruinous to be permanent ; so I accordingly removed, at the expiration of a few days, and by the recommendation of some friends to a residence more congenial with the constitution of my purse ; to a kind of eating-house, in the vicinity of Popham-street, kept by a Frenchman who had been cook to Sir Robert Harland, one of the Admirals who had recently commanded the squadron in India. I regret that I should have entirely forgotten the name of this kind-hearted foreigner ; who, for the short time during which I remained under his roof, behaved to me with an attention that was almost paternal.”

7th July, 1790.—“William Bell, Removed from Armenian Street To the house lately occupied by Mr. Beggie in Du Puy Street, Black Town, Begs leave to inform the Public that he continues the sale of his truly excelent and superior Madeira at 3 Pagodas per Doz. He begs leave at the same

time to tender his sincere thanks for the ample support he has continued to receive from his friends and a justly discriminating Public.

N.B. 'Madeira in Pipes at 95 Page each.' "Vestiges of Old Madras". Vol. III. 4489

While cash figures give little indication of values without comparison with other commodities, food stuff in particular, they can often offer the best idea of prices available. The following advertisements, if they do nothing else, prove that rich men only could indulge in the large quantities of liquor believed to be the prevailing custom of the day.

### TAVERNS.

8th September, 1791—THE MASTER of that well known and much frequented House The Griffin, on the Great Western Road 3, returns grateful thanks to his friends and the Public for that partial attention which he has hitherto experienced from them, and assures them that it shall be his earnest and constant endeavour, by his future conduct, to merit a continuance of their favour. He has the pleasure to inform them that he has *now* laid in a choice assortment of Wines and other Liquors of the first quality, and in particular Claret of that much esteemed vintage of 1759. Also some of Thrale's best old October in the Cask, which he can answer for as having been in this Country upwards of twelve years: with Cheese and Hams, carefully preserved in Tom Lincoln's Godown since the year 1785. There is excellent Stabling for Horses and Carriages with careful drivers.

N.B. The House is pleasantly situated with Pumlies in the neighbourhood, and Monboddo's Academy for youth is near at hand."

"12th January 1792.—FORT TAVERN, COURT HOUSE STREET

"John Card begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public in general. That he is removed from the London tavern in Black Town to the Tavern in Fort St. George, and he humbly solicits the continuance of that encouragement he has hitherto experienced.

"N.B. Soups every morning, and dinners dress'd on the shortest Notice—and the very best Wine."

"COFFEE HOUSE. James Fell begs leave to acquaint the Public that The Coffee Room in the Madras Exchange will be opened on Monday the 16th Instant; and as he wishes to the utmost of his power to give general satisfaction he proposes keeping the Room as much as possible on the same plan as that of New-Lloyd's in London by opening a sett of Books to register all Arrivals and Departures to and from all the Ports of India, and first intelligence of Shipping to and from Europe. He also means to take in all the News-Papers of this Country and Europe for the use of the Coffee-Room, where a Clerk will attend for the purpose of receiving and taking care of Papers and Letters belonging to Gentlemen who may do him the Honor to frequent the room. . . ."



5th April, 1792.—"EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE."

"James Fell begs leave to inform the Gentlemen of this Settlement that he will have in future Alamode Beef from Eleven till Two, and from Six till Eight in the Evening, with Salade, &c., Dressed in the same manner as at the Thirteen Cantoons in London."

#### FOR SALE

"by Messrs Beggie and Hefeke in Du Puy Street, 8 French Claret in Chests of two and two and half Dozen each, at 3 Pagodas per dozen for ready money only."

The "Madras Courier" of July 21st 1790 expresses an opinion in verse which looks as if "Qui Hi" took that as a pattern in 1816.

The "Madras Courier" of July 21st 1790 expresses an opinion in verse which looks as if "Qui Hi" took that as a pattern in 1816.

#### THE PUNCH HOUSE.

'Forth from the Fort beyond the whirling sands  
Full many a House of recreation stands,  
Whose open door and fairly-lettered sign  
Invite the stranger—enter here and dine.  
The Obsequious landlord welcomes each on shore  
In studied phrase, to thousands used before,  
"Here, bring his honor's Trunk and cott this way."  
"The weather's cursed hot"—"A smoaking day"—  
Whilst honest Sawmy, master's head Dubash,  
Secures his Keys, his Cloaths-bag and his Cash,  
And like a prudent, wary, knowing elf,  
Endeavours none shall rob him—but himself.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mean while mine Host retires to cook a Tiffin  
With his remark—"O, Damme, what a griffin!  
"Here, grill that Fowl; it only died on Sunday,  
And bring the Porter-bottoms sav'd on Monday"—  
Throughout the Black-town quick the news is handed,  
"One Ship arrive, and all the people's landed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Say, should he wish a languid hour to kill—  
He dashes in a Bandy to—Hog hill,  
Returns delighted to his ill-made Tea,  
And crowns the evening—in the Patcheree—  
In noise and revelry thus pass the days;  
At length my Landlady her bill displays.

"Why, landlord, zounds! too much upon my life."  
 "I leave these things, your honour, to my wife ;  
 And so d'ye see you'd best not make a noise,  
 For, if you do, I calls them there Sepoys"—  
 Abused, affronted, ridiculed and cheated, ...  
 He flies to tell his Ship-mates how he's treated.

\* \* \* \* \*

Happy the youth whom some kind friend recalls  
 To peace and virtue from th' unhallow's walls.  
 O! kindly act! Rescued perhaps from death,  
 The Youth shall bless you with his latest breath."

On the 15th June, 1796 Tavern and Punch House Licenses were granted for that year to a number of people among them being the names of three women. "Several of these tavern keepers became landed proprietors, and, indeed, the names of three are still commemorated in Madras, viz., John Standiver Sherman in *Sherman's Road*, Vepery ; Lynn Pereira in *Lynn Pereira Street*, San Thome ; and Francis D'Silva in *De Silva's Road*, Luz." One of the licensees, J. S. Sherman, had lately rebuilt his premises, which were situated at the south end of Stringer Street, and had the misfortune to break some of the city's byelaws.

"His workmen were stopped in May by authority, and he represents how if he is not permitted to build an upper story, he will be put to great loss, as 'the design and business for which the house was intended to be used (being that of a Tavern and Hotel) absolutely requires an upper story for Bed rooms and other conveniences.' The Chief Engineer reported that the ground given up was an encroachment on Stronger Street by a former lessee. By increasing the height of his house from 19 to 26 feet Sherman is violating a regulation under which 'no person has a right to build an upper story within one hundred yards of the boundary of the Esplanade.' Government directed Sheriman, as they call him, to curb his ambitious ideas."

Sherman more than likely gave his name to Sherman's Gardens, Nungumbaukum. He died in 1841 so must have spent quite fifty years in India.

"General Harris had in 1798 allowed one John Burden to open a tavern in the Fort, but the proprietor closed the house within a year for want of Capital. In 1800 he applied for a renewal of sanction, and the Justices supported his request. Government passed the following orders:—"Agreed to authorize the Justices to grant a License for the Tavern recommended by them for a period of one year, as a temporary convenience to the Public ; but, as such an institution is inconsistent with the principles on which it is intended to regulate the Fort, Agreed also to desire that the license may not be renewed at the expiration of that time." "Vestiges of Old Madras", Vol. II, p. 503.

The three principal Public-house received the special concession recommended in the following letter:—

*The Justices to Lord Mornington and Council.*

"We Recommend that the Taverns on the Esplanade Called the Navy Tavern, the King's Arms, and the Old London Tavern be permitted to be kept open until 12 at Night. The other Taverns and Punch Houses will be Shut at 9 at Night.

"Although the Sale of Cordials is not likely to produce the Effects of Ebriety among the lower Classes of the People, yet as the Arrack Farmer, under the Head of *all Spirituous Liquors*, claims the exclusive priviledge of Selling Cordials, We have been obliged to put the Additional Tax upon these Liquors, as well as upon Jamaica Rum, Gin, Brandy, &c." 24th May 1799.

Colonel Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras" stops short at the year 1800 and information about taverns during the XIXth Century is difficult to obtain. Conditions probably continued the same until the advent of electricity, cheap ice, and quicker passages to and from England led to a demand for improvement. Judging by Calcutta, conditions in 1890 must have differed little from those of 1820, and it is doubtful if Madras tried to get in advance of the times.

R. C. Caldwell's "Chit-Chat Papers" published in 1873 makes rather sad reading as it is difficult to believe that men posing as leaders in Madras society should have been such cads. But cads they were and by boasting of caddishness to their servants, male and female they apparently did not know what bounders they actually were. I take this extract as one of the least snobbish parts of "Chit-Chat."

"Mr. Brown of Cubban's Hotel had some time ago a number of discontented boarders who kept declaring that the beef he set before them as buffalo-flesh. This got unbearable, so thought Mr. Brown, "I will just try to see if they know what buffalo meat is," and this resolution he carried into practice, setting before the dissatisfied gentlemen a good sirloin of buffalo—which at once, one and all, they declared was excellent—just what they wanted, &c. When they had buffalo meat for several days (enjoying it all the time) Mr. Brown took pity on them, and explained to them their slight error. They never criticised Mr. Brown's beef again."

The fact being, that not one person in ten in India knows what good food is, or enjoys it when it is put before him.

Madras, capital city of the "Benighted Presidency" was as backward as other parts of India so far as hotel comforts went until 1892 when Mr. Aumara-gura, owner of the "Elphinstone", (now Spencer's Hotel,) took over the Connemara.

At one time the building had been the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. It was of the usual Madras design in favor a century and more ago, with lofty rooms, thick walls, spacious corridors and halls, with the best bedrooms designed to keep out heat and light but making darkness almost visible.

It was not until 1933 that the main building was demolished and the new Connemara commenced. The new hotel was completed in November 1937, and, so far as Madras is concerned, is like the wedding present—far too good. The "lay-out" of kitchens and dining rooms is said to be the most perfect in India.

It cannot be denied that Messrs. Spencer & Co. have done much for the improvement of Madras social life by giving it what travellers say, is the best hotel in India.

### CALCUTTA TAVERNS.

It is curious that Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta appears to have been one of the first interested in taverns there. It is said that he "gained an unenviable reputation on the score of the punch house and billiard table kept by Hill, the Secretary and Captain of the soldiers, to whom Charnock entrusted wide powers of indiscretion." Charles Raikes, in "The Englishman in India" states that a sergeant was kept as a bully and the officer in charge "was allowed to send in false returns in aid of the tavern business."

Charnock came to India in 1665. "On October 25 1667 the Company, to show their appreciation of his services, increased his pay to £40 per annum, and in 1676 he was granted an annual gratuity of £20." Towards the end of his days he appears to have degenerated. Professor C. R. Wilson was of opinion that "Charnock possessed the rare virtue of disinterested honesty—a virtue which raised up against him scores of secret enemies. Coarse and sinful he may have been, but I prefer to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, and his honest self devotion."

Captain Hill, with whom Charnock was in partnership was one who sharked all he could, old or young, particularly the young in accordance with the ethics of the day, for no mercy or consideration was shown to youngsters who were expected to look after themselves as if they were men. Those who criticised or complained in any company had to look out for squalls, and in Hill's haunt, they were either beaten-up by the sergeant, or, if their social position entitled them to that consideration, honored by being challenged to fight a duel with the proprietor. He was unpopular not so much on account of his tavern but because he had "let his wife turn Papist without control."

Job Charnock spent nearly thirty-seven years in India before he died on January 10, 1692 or 1693. Like all great men various stories are told about him, the most popular being his rescue of an Indian widow from the funeral pile, and his affection for her which led him to sacrifice a cock on her grave on the anniversary of her death. As she was a Hindu it is a thousand to one that she was cremated but it is characteristic of human nature that the more such fables range from the improbable to the incredible, the more they grip the imagination. It is possible that the Hindu widow and the tavern story are both fiction, but on £40 a year, if he did try to make a bit beyond his pay well—why not?

In 1671-2 "It is likewise ordered and declared hereby that no Victualler, Punch-house, or other house of Entertainment shall not be permitted to make stopages at the pay day of their wages."

A reference to Calcutta inns and taverns is found in the 1688 records when Mrs. Francis, "wife of the late Lieutenant Francis killed at Hoogly by the Moors made it her petition that she might keep a punch-house for her maintenance."

The Rev. J. Long, in "Selections from Records of the Government of India refers to "Outrages on Seamen, and to the Apollo Tavern in Lall Bazaar, where the President and Governor of Fort William held a Consultation on December 12th 1748.

One can picture how these worthies and unworthies passed their days, and learn how the old hands jeered at the footling life led by those younger than themselves compared with the luxury of years gone by.

In a letter from *An Old Country Captain* in the *India Gazette* of February 24 1781, he writes:—"I am an Old stager in this Country, having arrived in Calcutta in the Year 1736. . . . Those were the days, when Gentlemen studied *Ease* instead of Fashions; even when the Hon. Members of the Council met in Banyan Shirts, Long Drawers," (q.v.) (which covered the feet as a precaution against mosquitos) "and Conjee caps; with a case bottle of good old Arrack, and a Gouglet of Water placed on the Table, which the Secretary (a Skilful Hand) frequently converted into Punch. . . ."

In 1758 J. Tresham established a tavern in Meredith's Lane, a dirty gully off Bentinck Street, and next door to Meredith's stables. That thoroughfare, one gharry wide, even in the 1880's and 1890's took a bit of beating for dirt and stench. Whatever detractors may say, it must be admitted that Calcutta has never been so clean and wholesome as it is today.

As can be imagined, Tresham's Tavern was a place where "Hosts of flies filled the rooms and never seem to have left them except to repair now and then to adjoining muckheaps for a change of air." A resident, writing home said he was staying in a tavern where

". . . . while the butter's melting.  
The flies eat up the cake."

Mr. William Parkes wrote on June 21, 1762 "acquainting the Board that he had purchased a garden house which he intended for the resort of the gentry of Calcutta" and asking for a license."

"This was granted on condition that it was not to be open in the morning as the Board were afraid that it would be the means of keeping people from doing their duty."

"Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government of India," Vol. 1, No. 579.

"Garden Houses" seem to have been of the nature of rural taverns a "snare and a delusion to the young "writers" in the Company's service."

Some idea can be obtained about prices charged in the best of the taverns in 1780. A visitor wrote :—

"I was, en passant, shown a tavern called the London Hotel where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee house your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half a crown) ; which half crown however franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file as in London."

With the Calcutta Maidan a swamp, the jungle up to Chowringhee, and the stagnant water in the moat of Fort William, the sufferings of newcomers from the attacks of insects must have been unendurable. A soldier complained "what with the hum of the mosquito above, and the bug in the bed below, I am regularly humbugged out of my night's rest."

The general custom was—"after dinner the company sit round in the middle of the room, talk in whispers and scratch their mosquito bites."

A new arrival in this "gasping Empire" wrote to the "Bengal Gazette" on August 12, 1780 :—

"Where Music (different from the Notes,  
That warble from Italian Throats)  
With ceaseless din assails—  
Where crows by Day, and Frogs by Night,  
Incessant foes of calm delight  
Croak their discordant Lays.  
"Where insects settle on your meat,  
Where Scorpions crawl beneath your Feet  
And deadly snakes infest,  
Mosquitos ceaseless teasing sound  
And Jackals direful howls confound  
Destroy your balmy rest."

Apparently insects were not the only pests. "At the Inn I was tormented to death by the impertinent, persevering of the black people : for every one is a beggar, as long as you are reckoned a griffin, or a new-comer."

"Life of Leyden," 1808.

In the 1780's the Harmonic Tavern in Lall Bazaar, Calcutta was the cold cream of social exaltation. The building was the handsomest house in the "Settlement" where Society reigned, and as some of those who may not have been eligible for admission put it "profligacy can be found tuning the lute."

Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" contained many references, and William Hickey thought much of the grandeur of the entertainments. It has been said that "pubs are havens for those people whose position in society is that of hanging suspended—like Mahomet's coffin—somewhere between the club and the bazaar." There was nothing of that about the Harmonic. Yet, as Dr. St. John Gogarty put it—"One of the advantages of a pub over a club is that you never know who may come into it. In a club you know only too well."

According to Mrs. Fay, who was in Calcutta when it was termed the "Settlement" (a palpable misnomer according to a young lady who sneered at the term—"I never was so unsettled in all my life,") Mrs. Warren Hastings was a patron, holding a sort of Court there.

Mrs. Fay goes on—"I felt far more gratified some time ago when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic which was supported by a select number of gentlemen who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight—that I attended was given by a Mr. Taylor, which closed the subscription, and I understand it will not be renewed, a circumstance generally regretted as it was an elegant amusement and conducted on a very eligible plan. We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—— who is a capital performer on the harpsichord played amongst other pieces a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style."

"Mrs. H—— (Mrs. Warren Hastings) was of the party ; she came in late, and happened to place herself on the opposite side of the room, beyond a speaking distance, so, strange to tell, I quite forgot she was there ! After some time had elapsed, my observant friend Mrs. J—— who had been impatiently watching my looks, asked if I had paid my respects to the Lady Governess ? I answered in the negative, having had no opportunity, as she had not chanced to look towards me when I was prepared to do so. "Oh, 'replied the kind old lady,' you must fix your eyes on her and never take them off' till she notices you ; Miss C—— has done this and so have I ; it is absolutely necessary to avoid giving offence. I soon followed her prudent advice and was soon honoured with a complacent glance, which I returned as became me by a most respectful bend. Not long after she walked over to our side and conversed very affably with me, for we are now through Mrs. Jackson's interference on very good terms together." (January 1781).

William Hickey refers to the Harmonic in his memoirs, proud of having filled his friends right up to the brim.

"Having partaken of several entertainments given at the tavern by Captain Sutton and other gentlemen, I thought it incumbent upon me to return the compliment, and accordingly bespoke the handsomest dinner that could be provided for forty at the Harmonic Tavern. On the day appointed thirty-nine sat down to table, all of whom did ample justice to the feast, and drank freely, some of my guests remaining till three in the morning, when they staggered home, well pleased with their fare and declaring I was an admirable host."

Vol. II, p. 137.

Francis Le Gallais had a tavern near the Harmonic where, in 1775, Richard Barwell "required his friends to join him every fortnight," and at one of his gatherings G. F. Grand was engaged on the night Philip Francis invaded his household. During the notable trial of Nanda Kumar, Le Gallais provided for the lawyers "and those whom they should invite" "eight dinners and

nine suppers for 16 persons each" for which he charged Rs. 629. (*Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. 14, p. 216).

As that appears to work out to about Rs. 2/4 per head, the charge was about the same as it might be today.

One of Le Gallais's advertisements ran as follows ;—

"FRANCES LE GALLAIS"

"BEGS leave to Acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of the settlement that he continues baking Bread, Cakes, and Bunns &, and will receive Orders as usual for putting up the same kind of fine Butter, Rusks, Biscuit, and flower for the Ladies and Gentlemen that proposes going home."

Le Gallais catered for the big dinners of the times. On New Year's Day of 1789, "a respectable and numerous company dined with His Lordship at the Old Court House . . . and after a repast on turtle, turkies, and other good things, drank the loyal toasts in the usual manner."

The "usual manner" often meant an accompaniment by the Grenadiers of the European regiment in Fort William, who fired volleys of blank cartridge out of the windows.

Le Gallais appears to have met with occasional bad luck, for, after one of his dinners a correspondent wrote, "We cannot say anything in favour of the supper, but unwilling to say anything against it, as the traiteur, Mr. Le Gallais, has in general deserved praise, and a single failure may have been accidental."

And when the difficulties that had to be overcome are appreciated it is a wonder complaints were not more general.

The poet-prophet Omar Kjayam said, 800 years ago:—"In the four parts of the earth are many that are able to write learned books, many that are able to lead armies and many also that are able to govern kingdoms and empires: but few there are that can keep hotel."

160 years ago the trade in oysters appears to have been well organised. Not only were they brought up for the table but shipments of thousands of what were called "Pearl Oysters" came to Calcutta as a gambling venture. Well, it has long been possible to obtain both pearls and peritonitis from them, but they must have been popular, risky though they were for Creighton of the Harmonic Tavern advertised in 1784 accommodation for gentlemen, also that he had "an additional well for oysters." A later advertisement (1875) seems to show there was more in the oyster trade than is found in the shell.

"As Mr. Creighton has advanced considerable sums of money to people concerned in the oyster business, for the sole purpose of procuring him oysters, he is sorry to inform them that he is obliged to advance the price from this date for those oysters that are sent out of the Harmonic, owing to his people disposing of them to such persons as wait on the river, and deprive him of what in reality is his property; as he is reduced from the above



motives to the necessity of re-purchase, he hopes it will be a sufficient apology to the public."

In the *Gazette* of November 17, 1784, he boasts of a "new method of preserving and cleansing oysters to as to render them of a fine flavour, and give them preference above any ever brought to this place," recommending some "good cask porter". He was also in need of Turtles and "any person having such to dispose of, may hear of a purchaser on applying to Mr. Creighton at the new Tavern."

An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 26, 1788 was to the effect that he "proposes to open the rooms of the Old Court House at 9 o'clock in the evening of Thursday, the 5th March, for a Fancy Ball."

Le Gallais must have been comparatively an old resident for he had been in the tavern business sixteen years when he died on August 22nd. 1791. His widow carried on the catering after his death. St. Andrew's Day Dinner, probably the first held in Calcutta, took place in his tavern in 1792.

"On May 31st 1792 a meeting was held at Le Gallais Tavern when it was determined to raise subscriptions for the erection of a public building for the "general accommodation of the settlement." This was apparently the future Town Hall of Calcutta. . . . At the same time there was a lottery for the benefit of the funds of the proposed building; it numbered 5000 tickets at 60 sicca rupees each, of which 1331 were prizes amounting to three lakhs of rupees and 3669 blanks.

Another Town Hall Lottery was advertised in 1805 ; the third was drawn on January 26 1807, and the fourth during the same year. That was for Rs. 7,50,000 of which Rs. 6,60,000 were to go for prizes, 15,000 to the charges of the lottery leaving a balance of Rs. 75,000 to the fund for the construction of the Town Hall.

Geo. W. Johnson says, "The Town Hall is the most classic-looking structure within the bounds of the city ; but there is a tablet in the walls, which may be considered as sacred to the memory of the 500,000 rupees (£50,000) which *departed* during its erection, not to mention all the extravagance of which it had been the occasion, for here are held all the public dinners and balls, not of rare occurrence, and which, for their excellence and unvarying price, have obtained the title of "The Gold Mohur Festivals."

"Mr. ROBERT RISHTON

BEGS leave to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Settlement, that at the desire of his Friends, he has opened a tavern in the Radha Bazaar, next to Mr. Fivey's Europe Shop, where he hopes for the further continuance of their favours. He also embraces this Opportunity of expressing his thanks to the Public in general, for the favours and countenances he has met with, and to assure them, that it will be his principal study to give satisfaction to those who may be pleased to continue their favours.

N.B. Oysters every Week. February 10th. 1781."

On the same page of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, Robert Harvey advertised, "the best Country Rum at one rupee eight annas per gallon wholesale, and one rupee ten annas, retail."

After the Harmonic in Lall Bazar closed down the London Tavern was opened in Vansittart Row, on the south side of "Tank Square." An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* October 7, 1784, announces—

"Messrs Martin Lacy and Parr, Masters of the London Tavern most humbly present their respects to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement and take the liberty of informing them that they have opened a Subscription for the Assembly, once a fortnight, during the next cold weather to begin on Tuesday, the 23rd November next, and to continue every 2nd Tuesday, provided there shall be 150 Subscribers." They added—"They flatter themselves with the hopes of some encouragement and support from a generous Public, when they solemnly declare that they did not know the Harmonic Tavern would be again opened as a Tavern when they contracted with a builder, about two months ago, to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, ninety-six feet long and thirty-six feet wide."

A writer in letter dated 21st October, 1784, recommended the establishment of a Ranelagh, or Vauxhall, and a coffee-house modelled after the manner of the Chapter Coffee-house in London. He said he had observed with delight the rapid progress made in all polite and refined entertainments, and declared that "Calcutta, in the elegance of its amusements, and the fashionable style in which they are carried on, will shortly vie with most of the cities, even in Europe."

His suggestion did not appear to have been successful. The out-door Vauxhall was a failure from the start. In 1785 the proprietors of the London Tavern tried an in-door Vauxhall, and laid out their "large and extensive rooms" in a rural style, with "several rural walks diversified, they trust, with taste and fancy," and "several alcoves conveniently interspersed in them, where there will always be ready prepared the best cold collation." A band of music, as good as could be provided, was to attend for the entertainment of the company. And "the accommodations will be so arranged that a variety of parties may enjoy themselves without mixing with others, or being subject to the intrusion usual at public places of amusement." Even this attractive scheme did not prosper.

A Mr. Gairard advertised another outdoor Vauxhall for December 8 1786 with "music champetre" playing in different parts of the gardens, garden walls illuminated at nine; and a convenient place appropriated for carriages and palankeens in the gardens? Ladies and gentlemen might "amuse themselves at the agreeable exercise of throwing out small rockets &c., to win prizes."

Two years later on December 4, 1788, he was again before the public as a promotor of this style of entertainment. But he was warned by a correspondent in the 'Calcutta Gazette' of December 7, that "he had better fulfil his engagements this time, as the public will not be as passive as they were on the last occasion."

The proposed coffee house did not come to anything. There was no building in Calcutta suitable for public meetings ; a public exchange and coffee room was only seriously promoted in 1788.

Another advertisement is interesting showing that children were not overworked at school :—

"M. SOUBIE"

"BEGS leave to inform the Gentlemen of the Settlement, that he has left Mr. Le Gallais and now keeps his school at the Harmonic, where he attends, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, from seven in the Morning till half past Ten o'Clock."

In addition to the hotels down the river, there appears to have been others up stream. Warren Hastings had a house at Serampore, a house Shirley Tremearne of "Capital" lived in for a time, and is now part of the Hastings Jute Mills. Those who could afford it had swift boats with ten oars that must have made good time between Calcutta and Serampore ; others, of course, could ride part of the way on the Calcutta side of the Hooghly and cross the river in the neighbourhood of Chanak, now called Barrackpore.

"SIRAMPORE TAVERN"

"CHARLES MATON having taken the house near the Water side, lately occupied by Major Briton, and fitted up the same as a Tavern and Hotel, Respectfully acquaints the Gentlemen of Calcutta, that they may depend on every possible accommodation, good Provisions, and the best of Liquors. Beds also may be had, and Boarding, on Reasonable Terms.

N.B. A very good Billiard Table and skittle Ground.

In 1802 Messrs. Gammidge and Saunders set up a tavern and farm at Fultah, 25 miles below Calcutta. During the Napoleonic wars a French fleet was feared and "orders were given that at Fultah the chain should every evening be laid across the river." The tavern was advertised to be "By no means disgraceful to the most improved style of architecture. A number of captains and travellers of consequence land here, taking their departure of their various destinations in India."

Apparently the establishment was well run for a writer in 1813, after dwelling upon the dreary prospect of the river banks, added "At Fultah, however, a few hours may be very agreeably spent at a tavern kept by Messrs. Higginson and Baldwin, where the passenger will meet with good accommodation and be able to recruit his spirits after a fatiguing trip."

In 1814, the year before Waterloo, Fultah tavern was again in the market. It was frequently stated to have eventually come into the hands of David Wilson, who ran it as the Auckland Hotel, and later, as trade declined, transferred the business to Calcutta. That can hardly be possible, judging by the fact that Wilson was in active business in Calcutta in 1862.

Colonel Sherer had this to say about taverns :—

"In India there are some houses of public entertainment ; but to speak generally, they are not considered respectable, nor are they, except under a pressing necessity resorted to by gentlemen. This is not so strange as it first appears, nor does it arise from the hospitality of our countrymen in India, which, great as it allowedly is, has much less influence over this state of things than they perhaps imagine. It is right to clear this up, because a gentleman and a traveller landing at Calcutta, without letters of introduction would find himself much at a loss, and placed, moreover, in rather a mortifying situation. Our connection with India is not a Colonial one. We have settlements on the coasts ; but we rule over an empire by the agency of native servants and soldiers, who are subjected to the authority and guidance of governors, generals, collectors, judges, and other officers, civil and military ; *all British*, and of British appointment. It is never, therefor, that gentlemen in the service of the Company can land at any of the Presidencies without an appointed place to go to."

"King's officers have their barracks ; merchants their correspondents ; captains of ships their friends, or the purchasers of their investments, or else they hire houses ; and to individuals of any of these classes, if they have private letters to a protector, his doors are thrown open here, as they would be elsewhere at a distance from the mother-country. Taverns, therefore, are principally resigned to such merchant ship-officers, of junior rank, as get a few days' leave on shore, and have no other resource. The necessary consequence is, they pay extravagantly, and fare badly."

Colonel Sherer was in Calcutta in 1819. His book is "Sketches of India written by an Officer for Fire-side Travellers at Home." (1825) p. 91-93.

On 1st. July, 1798, the Calcutta Exchange Coffee House, now the Royal Exchange, was opened for "all gentlemen, merchants, and traders."

All the newspapers printed in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, also two of the most approved London papers, and any curious political pamphlets were to be kept on files.

"An active and experienced person who shall at the same time carry on the tavern business," was to be in charge. The subscription was to be four rupees a month paid monthly.

In this case the "experienced person" knew more than the promoter. Money and experience often change hands. But the Royal Exchange does not mean the Stock Exchange, which is quite a different place. There, the cards are first sorted in the coal hole and players of to-day are expected to believe themselves lucky if all they get out of a deal is the shuffle.

When the XVIIIth. Century was "one off game" the Exchange Coffee House was advertised for disposal. After but one year's trading, "to satisfy a number of claimants who are not in circumstances to afford delay," it was decided to raise the money by a lottery, 1,600 chances at Rs. 100 each.

The scheme, detailed in "Bengal Past and Present," is well worth reading. One feels that if the unfortunate promoter did not know sufficient to run

an Exchange, he knew how to make a lottery attractive. Were such a proposal put before the Calcutta public to-day it would be filled in no time.

Captain Thomas Williamson, in his "East Indian Guide and Vade Mecum" (1810) said there was no hotel in Calcutta but a number of taverns which are "either of the first rate, at which public dinners are occasionally given, or they are of that mean description which receives all who have a rupee to spend, under the determination of extracting that rupee in some shape or other. The former class is very confined in numbers, but the latter are abundantly numerous, and may be readily distinguished by the promiscuous company, the shabbiness of the treatment, and the excess of imposition imposed, especially on novices."

"In all sea-ports, taverns or punch-houses are more frequented than in places where shipping lies in some distant road or harbour. This occasions them to be more respectable in the opinions of those who keep them, but nothing could reconcile a gentleman, long resident in the country, to seek accommodation among them. It would imply a total want of respectable connexions; and, in itself, appear a sufficient cause for avoiding his acquaintance."

Strangers were recommended—

"He who is not a Company's servant, and is so unfortunate as to possess no letter of introduction, is advised to resort to one of the European shopkeepers in Calcutta, among whom are some most respectable characters, men distinguished for their urbanity, philanthropy and generosity. To one of them the case should be candidly stated and, in order to inspire confidence, a deposit of money should be made, either with them, or at one of the banks. The consequences will be that in a few hours some small tenement will be obtained, either on hire or granted as temporary accommodation and the whole of the articles really necessary will be provided at one or the other auctions which daily take place within the central parts of the town."

Apparently tavern keepers worked hand in hand with the police—Barrabas in partnership with Ananias—never failing "to enquire whether the gentleman has any friends in town, or even in the country? If affirmatively answered, "mine Host" feels himself tolerably secure of his money: but will probably assert that the friend in town is out of the way, and will not be back for some days—Should the gentleman be totally destitute of friends, then comes the rich harvest. Imposition following imposition swells the bill; which, if appearances warrant forbearance, is kept back as long as possible under the pleasing assurance of perfect confidence. In the end, however, a catalogue of items is produced, which never fails to alarm, if not to ruin the unsuspecting victim."

"Should, unhappily, the guest so far lower himself as to associate with the ordinary company of the common drinking-room, he is irretrievably gone. Quarrels, riots and inebriety follow, till, in all probability, he becomes subject to the notice of the police. Should his face ever be seen at that office, his admission into any respectable circle would be next to impossible. What

with lodging, dinner, wines, &c. of the worst description but all rated at the highest prices, he must be fortunate who escapes under a gold mohur (two guineas) per day. Double that sum is generally charged so that a person starts at the rate of £1000 per annum, at least ; while in all probability, no established, or even apparent, provision exists, whereby he may be maintained."

"Add the allurements held out by the sable beauties, who will contrive means to retail their charms so long as they think money is to be had, and no trifling expense will be incurred. Some fellow who can speak English and thoroughly understands whatever relates to the interest of the concern, which, among other things, includes thieving, lying, cheating, pimping, &c. is employed to delude the unwary stranger. The first essay is ordinarily made by describing the elegance of native women, and their great perfection as singers and dancers ; and rarely fails, especially with youths under such circumstances, to excite something more than curiosity. The dancing-girls are introduced, and so many fatal consequences follow, that nothing can be more dangerous than this irregular indulgence; it never failing, first to drain the purse, and in a few days or weeks, the constitution also."

Another writer speaks even more plainly about those days of ruin and sudden death.

"Besides a universal rapacity there was a prevalent and odious looseness of manner among those desperate adventurers who "whistled down the wind to prey at fortune" and whom England, in the emphatic language of the Scriptures had "spued out ;" men who sought those golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes ; to bury in oblivion a sullied name ; or to wring, with lawless hand, from the weak and unsuspecting, wealth which they had not the courage of the capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated, they gambled, they drank ; they revelled in all kinds of debauchery ; though associates in vice linked together by a common bond of rapacity, they often pursued one another with desperate malice, and, few though they were in numbers, among them there was no unity, except a unity of crime." "The fullest scope was given for the misconduct of such persons by the corporate immorality of the early companies ; and so we may suppose what a paradise (for scoundrels) the country must have been when the Abbe Raynal considered the "English to be the best of the Europeans in India." But in most countries in Europe criminals generally died of old age.

No wonder they shocked and astonished the unsophisticated Indians who, at any rate, have good manners. Government possibly made occasional efforts at control and punished offences with extreme severity, but when every man was out for his own hand, few troubled about the extortions and exactions of tavern keepers. And they were not all saints who came for board and lodging either and a succession of rogues will harden any heart. Perhaps the best that can be said about "mine host" of those days was, so far as interest in a stranger went, the tavern keeper was in all three Presi-

dencies equally heartless and unscrupulous when dealing with the young. The Bible tells us what the mentality was 2000 years ago, it being thought remarkable enough to put on record the fact that Jesus Christ had said—"Suffer little children to come unto me." One who has never been a Boy Scout pays tribute to Lord Baden Powell, a man for whom no reward is too great, who has taught parents to honour their children and effected reforms that were thousands of years overdue.

Dr. Walford, in his "Autobiography of an Indian Army Surgeon" relates that on his return from the (First) Burma War he thought he would invest his scanty savings, finding himself in contact with rascally sharepushers (how little has Calcutta changed in that respect!) which led him to assault one of the crooks in that firm. (In that respect Calcutta has deteriorated.) The law case that followed took all his money and the Gazette contained the announcement that "Wilmington Walford is suspended from rank, pay, and allowances for the space of two years."

In a few months his landlord turned him out, ruined, and with but one rupee left, wet, bedraggled and muddy, he made his way to a punch house somewhere off Lall Bazaar. "Two steps, and descending these, led me into a low, damp apartment, lighted at the further and darker end by a couple of "chirags." Placing his rupee on the table he was given eight annas change and shewn to a room "some steps lower than the last, and damper. The steam of Calcutta ran down the mildewed walls and a wrecked charpoy was pointed out as the bed." "Cockroaches crept over me as swiftly as a sunbeam through a chink, or attracted by the light struck me with a click ; rats left their drains. One more sprightly than the rest crept up the leg of my pantaloons. I knew what rats were on a transport when fresh water was hoarded and they wandered about all night in search of it."

After a dreadful night he walked down to the river for a bath, buying on the way "a handful of dates at a bazaar stand where flies and hornets held revelry."

That was his experience of a Calcutta Punch House and it was pleasant to read that he eventually obtained an appointment in a big ship bound for China, and, on his return, found that he had been re-instated in Government service.

W. H. Carey, in the "Good Old Days of the Honorable John Company" states that in 1780 "Drunkenness, gambling, and profane swearing were universally practised." Complaints in public journals testified that Europeans of all classes made Christmas festivities a "plea for absolute drunkenness and obscenity of conversation, that is while they were able to articulate at all."

Apparently so far as taverns went, the same story might be told about all three Presidencies. Philip Anderson, in his book explains—

"Possibly it may occur to the reader, as it has occurred to the writer, that the dramatis personae. . . . are all men of bad character ; that I only present offensive details which are relieved by no examples of goodness and honour. I can only say that I represent the matter faithfully as recorded by

the best authorities of the age. Vices were then trifles ; to be corrupt and to corrupt others was the fashion. I do not find anything good in the local annals either written or printed. As soon as I do, it will be a pleasure to serve up what must be more agreeable to "the gentle reader" than depreciatory strictures. In the meanwhile it is not my fault, if nausea is created by a surfeit of disgraceful anecdotes." (p. 158.)

But there were others. "In the travels of John Mandelslo we have an account of a dinner given by the Indian governor of Ahmedabad to his Dutch and English friends, at which the amusement was nautch dancing, performed by twenty girls. When these had danced themselves out, the host sent for another set, who, in refusing to come, were dragged into the presence, and as a punishment for their insolence, beheaded on the spot before the European guests."

That conditions have improved during the last hundred years can be gauged by my own experiences. In 1883 I landed at Calcutta. Since then, whether in cheap boarding houses, dak bungalows, or hotels I have never been robbed of anything except by my own countrymen. What is more I have never been really sharked in an hotel. Further, I have been twenty times to Europe, travelled in twentyone different lines of steamers, and had nothing stolen. During all my time in India I have had a servant, or servants, whose miserable pay has never been much more than sufficient to buy enough food to keep them from starvation, and, when I have been ill, they stayed with me day and night anxious to do all they could to save my life. How many who have been strangers in a strange land can say the same about Europe or America?

In "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan" published in 1835 by Miss Emma Roberts she referred to the difficulties of travellers who had no friends in the city when they arrived.

"Formerly, strangers visiting Calcutta were dependent upon the hospitality of residents, or were compelled to take large unfurnished houses, there being neither lodging nor hotels for the reception of guests. But the capital of Bengal has become too large to admit of the continuance of old customs, so boarding and other houses of public entertainment have been opened, and conducted in so respectable a manner, that notwithstanding the great difficulty of subduing ancient prejudices, no person, however fastidious, can now scruple to become an inmate of them."

Previous to the opening of hotels she referred to the bad character of the taverns, and the absence of decent places for strangers to stay, it being "no uncommon circumstance for parties to remain at a Calcutta ghaut in a budgerow for a week at a time."

Sir Charles Petrie, in his book, the Four Georges, tells us how things were in England during the early part of the 18th Century.

"The inns, for example, had not yet begun to change their character. There were no bars, no set dinners, and no dining rooms, for these innovations did not come in until the reign of George II. Travellers of any social



distinction ordered what they liked, or, rather, what the house could supply, in their own rooms. . . . No charge was made for the use of the room, as the landlord reckoned to recoup himself out of the food and drink consumed, and the stabling. Poorer people, such as those who travelled in the carrier's wagon, gravitated towards the kitchen."

If strangers made that a practice on arrival in India the kitchen accommodation would have startled them out of their wits. Perhaps the difference between the two countries was not so very great, and even to-day, in many European houses, the kitchen is the centre of household neglect often too repellent for the Mem Sahit to visit.

Samuel Pepys relates how he, his wife and their friends laughed when they found themselves lousy after staying a night in an inn near London. Modern people would need something funnier than that before being amused.

Captain Bellew, in his *Memoirs of a Griffin*, gave some details of his experiences when landing as a Cadet about 1810.

Landing at the "Ghaut or landing place I went to the Custom House". . . . "Having arranged matters there, I proceeded through the thronged streets of Calcutta to a tavern or punchhouse, somewhere in the aristocratic region of Ranamooty Gully a sort of place of entertainment which, in those days . . . was quite infradig for a gentleman to visit. However, being a griff, I knew nothing of this, and if the case had been otherwise I should have been without an alternative. Dirty table cloths, well spotted with curry and mustard. Prawn curries, capital beef-steaks, a rickety, rusty, torn billiard table, on which, day and night, the balls were kept going, lots of *shippies*, and a dingy bed were the leading features of this establishment, not forgetting clouds of voracious and well-fleshed mosquitoes."

After three days of this Bellew obtained an advance of 150 sicca rupees and moved into "four bare walls and a pukka floor in the South Barracks of Fort William."

In 1830 hotel matters in Calcutta began to improve. John Spence pioneered a business movement which was long overdue. Mrs. Friend, wife of a ship captain kept a diary, extracts from which were published in the "Deal & Walmer Telegram" during October 1871, and subsequently appeared in the "Blue Peter." She states—

"Anchored off the town of Calcutta on 30th December 1830." She and her husband rented a house in Entally for a few weeks, and "1831. About a week before we left Calcutta we broke up housekeeping and went to Spence's Hotel, and on the 26th February we at length set off with a fair wind for dear England."

That, and other references, establish Spence's as the oldest hotel in Asia. It is still a going concern, in its original buildings, now 170 years old, buildings that cannot be long for this world. But it is a striking testimonial that a business could continue for so long in a land where a few monsoons were the life of a man, and when men didn't die they killed themselves. What hard-boiled Koi Hai's of 150 years ago would think were they put down

in the heart of Calcutta today, so far away from their wind boats, palanquins, arrack punch and 20-years-spells without Hills or Home leave, finding motor cars, electric fans, cold-storage, air-conditioning, and a trip Home in four days would be worth knowing. One can make sure that some of them would declare that Calcutta had gone to the devil.

But, take it from me, gentle reader—the tomfoolery of talk about the good old days is much like most of the history we are taught—just lies or shameful distortions. “What is hit is history ; what is missed is mystery.”

“For olden times let other prate ;  
I deem it lucky I was born so late.”

H. HOBBS.

---

# Forgotten Governors in the "Bay of Bengal" and at "Fort William" in Calcutta. 1713—52.

"THEIR NAMES SHALL LIVE FOR EVER".

---

IT was sometime during the later half of 1934 when I made efforts to locate the site of the graves of five Governors in Bengal, who died between 1717 and 1752, and were buried in the present churchyard of St. John's Church in Council House Street. All efforts to trace the plan of this old burying-ground, for the purpose of locating the site of their graves, proved futile, but from records I was convinced, that there were no doubts, that their remains were interred somewhere in the western portion of this churchyard. It is also evident that the graves were among the many tottering tombs which had fallen into a state of irreparable decay, a little before the commencement of 1802, and in consequence were demolished by the Reverend David Brown, then chaplain of this church. In this connection we are told, that this act of desecration on his part, gave great umbrage to the Christian population of the city.

Determined however to do what was possible to resuscitate the memory of these Governors, I called on Archdeacon Birch Chaplain of St. John's Church, who was interested and forwarded the information I gave him to the the Government of Bengal. Early during the following year, he asked if I could give other details to justify my previous writings. This led me to prove conclusively that the mortal remains of the Governors lie at rest alongside one of the lonely walks of the churchyard.

Readers of this journal may be interested to know, that my efforts have not been in vain. The Government of Bengal has placed a grey marble slab on the north wall of the Vestibule of St. John's Church, bearing the following inscription :—

Close to this church  
are interred

The Mortal Remains of the following Presidents  
and Governors of Fort William in Bengal.

## ROBERT HEDGES,

(Nephew of Sir William Hedges, First Governor in the Bay of Bengal).

Assumed office, December 3rd, 1713.

Died December 28th, 1717.

## HENRY FRANKLAND

(Great-grandson of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell)

Assumed office, January 30th, 1726.

Died August 23rd, 1728.

## JOHN STACKHOUSE

Assumed office, February 25th, 1732.

Buried, September 28th, 1741.

## JOHN FOSTER

Assumed office, February 4th, 1745.

Buried, March 27th, 1748.

## WILLIAM FYTCHE

Assumed office, July 5th, 1752.

Died, August 8th, 1752.

The following notes may be of interest :—

1. ROBERT HEDGES, was the nephew of Sir William Hedges, the first Governor in the Bay of Bengal, being the son of his only brother Robert Hedges of Burras in Queen's Country, Ireland. Robert, we are told, arrived at the settlement of Sutanuti on 29th August 1710, as Second on the Council and in a very short space of three years, he succeeded John Russell, as Governor in the Bay of Bengal, on 3rd December, 1713.

This office he held for a brief period of a little over four years, for it is stated, that he passed away between the hours of 6 to 7 P.M. on Saturday, 28th December, 1717 after an illness of nine days. It is very probable, that he was buried the same night, as it was not an uncommon practice during those early days, to bury at night with the aid of lighted torches.

In connection with his death, he seems to have made rather a strange request in his Will, dated 26th December 1717, concerning his grave, for in it he directed his Trustees thus :—

"But will not have any monument built over my grave in Calcutta".

This unusual choice of his, arose it is said from the fact, that the burying-ground which had been in use from about 1692 had already by this time, become far too over-crowded with large tombs of masonry.

2. HENRY FRANKLAND born in 1684 was the great-grandson of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and the fourth son of Thomas Frankland and his wife Elizabeth. His mother Elizabeth, a sister of John Russell, Governor in the Bay 1711-1713, was the daughter of Sir John Russell and Lady Frances, the latter lady being the youngest and favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

Henry it is stated arrived at Sutanuti on 14th January 1709 and on 25th February 1715 he married at St. Anne's Church, Mary, the daughter of Alexander Cross, a merchant in Bengal. From 1713 to 1714 he acted as Governor of Fort William and from 1718 to 1719 was a Warden of St. Anne's church. Having by this time amassed a large fortune, he resigned the Company's service on 19th January 1719 and sailed for England with his family in the "GRANTHAM", East Indiaman.

Sometime in 1722 we find he rejoined the Company's service and with his younger brother Robert, sailed for India in the ship "DEVONSHIRE". The following year, at his own request, he was sent to Cassim Bazar as Chief of the factory (a position in those days, second only to the Governorship of Fort William) and three years later, on Sunday 30th January 1726, he succeeded John Deane, as Governor of Fort William in Bengal.

This office he held for a little less than two years, as after a brief illness of twelve days he passed away at 1 A.M. on Friday 23rd August 1728 and was buried the following evening, most probably by the Rev. Gervas Bellamy (a victim of the "Black Hole") who at that time was the Senior chaplain of St. Anne's church. His wife and family sailed for England the following year on the Company's ship "WALPOLE".

3. JOHN STACKHOUSE. Very little information is available concerning this gentleman and John Foster and even less concerning William Fytche. John Stackhouse we are told arrived at the settlement on 17th August 1710 and on 17th June 1717 he married at St. Anne's church Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain Henry Harnett. This lady died six years later, on 4th February 1723 and was buried in St. John's church-yard. John it is stated, was Warden of St. Anne's from 1721 till about 1724.

On 27th August 1727, four years after the death of his wife, he married Ann, the widow of Henry Harnett (Junior) and on 25th February 1732 he succeeded John Deane, as Governor of Fort William. This office he relinquished in 1738, but for several years continued to reside at the Settlement. There is no record of the date of his death, but it is stated that he was buried on 28th September, 1741.

4. JOHN FOSTER arrived here on 19th July 1718 on the Company's ship "GRANTHAM" and on 4th February 1745 he was appointed Governor of Fort William in succession to Thomas Bradyll. Two years later, on 6th March 1747, he married at St. Anne's church, Miss. Alice Patterson.

There is no record of the date of his death but he was buried on 27th March 1748.

5. WILLIAM FYTCHE was appointed Governor of Fort William on 5th July 1752 in succession to Richard Barwell, but did not hold office for long, as we are told, that he died of dysentery on 8th August the same year and was buried the following day. It is stated, that on 26th March 1753 a Mrs. Lucy Fytche, said to be his widow, was married to William McQuire.

WILLIAM S. BIRNEY.

---

## The Influence of Sher Shah Sur on the Islamic Architecture of India.

---

CONSTRUCTED under the orders of the Afghan family of the house of Suri, chiefly by its principal member Sher Shah who ruled at Delhi towards the middle of the sixteenth century, are two different groups of buildings in entirely separate localities, each of which illustrates in a most significant manner the development of the art of building in the Islamic style. In the first instance the tombs of the Suri family at Sasaram in Bihar mark the final phase of a type of architecture as this culminated during the ascendancy of the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. On the other hand in what is known as the Purana Qila at Delhi, and particularly in its mosque, the Qila-i-Kuhna, with one or two other buildings all executed by Sher Shah Sur, we not only see examples of architecture of a very distinctive character, but these structures also provide a connecting link between the declining productions of the Delhi Sultanate, and the subsequent magnificent flowering of the Islamic building art under the dynasty of the Mughuls.

Several of the Muslim rulers of India have exercised a marked personal influence on the style of architecture that flourished under their authority. So much so that in some of the examples at Delhi representing the imperial development, and also in the productions of the provincial rulers, the impress of an aesthetic individuality is very noticeable. Among these mention may be made of Qutb-ud-din of the Slave dynasty, and Firuz Tughlaq, both of whose monuments at Delhi stand out on account of their style being of an exceptionally personal character. Later, there is no mistaking in the productions of the Mughuls the influence of Akbar with his indigenous propensities expressed in red sandstone, or of Shah Jahan and the feeling for sumptuousness displayed in his arcades of white marble picked out in gold. Turning to the provincial movements the spirit of Ahmed Shah lingers over the great mosque at Ahmedabad outside which lies the marble tomb of this ruler, while the power of Begarah of the same dynasty is observable in his vast ruined capital at Champanir.

But none of these royal patrons of the building art appeared on the scene at a more decisive juncture than the Afghan ruler Sher Shah when he mounted the throne at Delhi in 1538. As far as the sphere of architecture was concerned the occasion was one of those rare instances of the right man appearing at the right moment, for Sher Shah assumed power at Delhi at a time when only intelligent encouragement and an aesthetic outlook could save the Islamic style of architecture in Upper India if not from oblivion at

least from a dangerous period of inertia. What is surprising is that so much was achieved in such a short space of time, as Sher Shah reigned at Delhi only for six years, and the succeeding members of the dynasty failed to continue his architectural schemes.

The architectural movement here referred to resolves itself into four parts. In the first place there is the state of the building art in northern India as this existed under the predecessors of the Sur dynasty, in other words, its condition as maintained under the rule of the Lodis. Secondly it is necessary to realize the architectural ideals of Sher Shah Sur, his personal aims and objects, of which there are literary and other contemporary records. Thirdly there are these ideals as they materialized under his patronage, *i.e.*, the buildings of his period, and lastly, and of special significance is the effect these buildings had on the style that followed, that is to say their influence on the subsequent architectural development of the Mughuls.

As regards the first of these divisions of the subject, the character of the building art in the first half of the sixteenth century as this existed under Islamic authority in Upper India, there are evidences that this was approaching a state of decline. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that such a condition was in a large measure due to the political circumstances that then prevailed. Owing to a variety of causes during much of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth the imperial power at Delhi under the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis had been of an unsubstantial nature. This is shown in the type of building erected during their period. In other words under the diminishing influence of these two royal houses, all forms of constructive enterprise languished, and what architecture was produced reflects the weakening spirit of the time. Unlike the period of sovereignty of the earlier sultanates such as the Tughluqs and, before them, the Khaljis, no great structural undertakings are recorded, no capital cities were founded, no imperial palaces, no fortresses or strongholds were created, no mosques of importance, no colleges, and no public buildings were erected. It is significant that almost the only form of monument that appealed to the rulers and their Court officials at this juncture were those expressive of dissolution—they excelled in memorials to the dead. At perhaps in no other period has the tomb been more manifest in the consciousness of the people than during the reign of the Sayyids and Lodis, so much so that Delhi and its environs were converted into a vast necropolis. Most of the battered domed buildings that are strewn in such profusion among the ruins of ancient Delhi are tombs built during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That some of these are monuments of style and distinction one cannot deny, such as the royal mausoleums of Mubarak Sayyid, Muhammed Sayyid, and Sikander Lodi, although as a whole they are not particularly inspiring works of architecture. But some of them illustrate rather a special type of tomb the chief characteristic of which is the octagonal plan, a shape which, as will be shown, was to be developed by Sher Shah at Sasaram in a very splendid manner.

The foregoing presents a brief outline of the state of the building art as it was being practised in Upper India when the founders of the Mughul



dynasty, the emperors Babur and Humayun were endeavouring to consolidate their kingdom on the disintegrating foundations of the Delhi Sultanate. For both these rulers conditions were not sufficiently stable to enable them to make any notable contributions to the building productions of their time. Humayun however is recorded to have founded a new city of Delhi which he called *Dinpanah* or "World-refuge", but practically nothing of this now remains, and the few other structures built by this ruler bear no special character. It is true that at Delhi there is Humayun's magnificent Mausoleum, one of the finest buildings of its kind, but its creation was due to the enterprise of his distinguished widow, Haji Begum, and was accordingly raised after his death. To sum up it is no exaggeration to say that to all intents and purposes the practice of intelligent and significant building construction approached in the first half of the sixteenth century a state of suspended animation.

It was at this decisive stage in the evolution of the building art that the Afghan ruler Sher Shah appears on the scene, and a brief account of his personality in this connection may be useful. There are proofs of his determination to make himself an ideal administrator of the territory that destiny, and his own right arm, had put him in possession, and that he was one of the greatest of the Moslem rulers of India with broad and practical views is fairly clear. Humayun, the Mughul emperor whom he unseated, had no doubts about his capacities as he admitted to Khalifa, his minister when he remarked "keep an eye on Sher Khan (as he was then called): he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead".(1) "It was India's misfortune however that Sher Shah did not, as he himself once exclaimed when observing his gray hairs in the mirror, ascend the throne until the time of evening prayer".(2)

But although the Afghan ruler's sovereignty was late in his life and lasted only for a very limited period, he appears at all times to have been a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals, which he maintained until the end. For it is recorded that with his dying breath he regretted that he would be unable to erect certain buildings which he specifies "with such architectural embellishments, that friend and foe might render their tribute of applause". It is clear that the artistic spirit was very much alive in Sher Shah's mental make-up and was exercised at time of great significance with the result that the continuity of the building art and the elegance of its character were consistently maintained.

We now approach the third division of our subject, that in which Sher Shah's architectural ideals were materialized. This ruler's buildings are in two distinct and separate groups, and produced two different results. It may be as well to take up first those buildings of his reign which are at or in the neighbourhood of Sasaram in Bihar, as here it was he began his initial authority in his capacity as Governor of this region. Here also he was brought to repose at the end of his strenuous career, for his remains are

(1) *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Elliot Vol. IV, p. 331.

(2) *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 57.

enshrined in one of the most magnificent mausoleums in the whole of India. Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram is the largest and finest of a series of five of these buildings all of marked architectural character, and most of which were no doubt erected during his lifetime, their mean date being A.D. 1540. All are large monuments, octagonal in plan and clearly evolved from the same type of tomb which had been developed under the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. But these tombs at Sasaram represent the final flowering of that style, and it is a florescence of notable size and splendour ; so much so that the principal example, that containing the remains of Sher Shah Sur himself, is an architectural production of which any country might be proud. Although the supreme achievement of the series, a description of this tomb applies in a modified degree to the architectural character of the remainder, which are all of much the same general appearance.

One of the main features of the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram is that it has the almost unique position of occupying the centre of a large artificial sheet of water. Such an unusual scheme adds very considerably to its romantic and monumental effect. Standing in the midst of the lake on a square terraced foundation connected with the "mainland" by an elegant, although ruined, causeway, it raises up into four stories, the lowest square in plan, those above octagonal, the highest being surmounted by a low but graceful dome. Its dimensions are considerable as the terraced foundation is three hundred feet side and the total height is about two hundred feet, while the tank in which it stands is fourteen hundred feet in length. But it is the architectural treatment of the main structure which proves beyond doubt that the conception is the work of an experienced master-mind. In devising the building as a whole in a grand pyramidal shape of diminishing stories, its designer showed a noteworthy knowledge of the value of form and volume, of finely adjusted bulk, of mass in repose, all of which go towards making it a composition of great dignity and power. Then over and above this total formation much skill has been expended on the application and pattern of the architectural details which break up the mass of the building with admirable effect, the domed octagonal pavilions at each corner, the projecting oriel-balconies carried on heavy brackets, the wide eaves surmounted by crenellated parapets, all these and many other constructive embellishments are most admirably distributed over the building. The interior consists of one large vaulted hall, octagonal in shape and surrounded by an arcade of arches ; this portion is rather bare and plain and it is possible may be unfinished.

As the tomb building now appears it presents a grey and sombre effect, but such was not the original intention. When first constructed its walls displayed designs of glowing colour executed in faience, and the dome was set brilliantly white against the blue sky. Traces of this glazed decoration still remain, fine bold borders of blues, reds, and yellows, in keeping with the grand scale of the monument itself. Few of those who see Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram, and I fear they are but few, as the tide of humanity has drifted away from its environment, and it now stands isolated

and remote, can fail to be impressed by this great architectural conception, a work of vision and idealism, as well as a building achievement of remarkable intellectual power.

But in addition to its own individual qualities, this monument, and the others of its series at Sasaram, possess no little historical significance. They mark the finale of that effort at expressive tomb building which is illustrated by many examples in the ruins of old Delhi. And it is an irony of fate that the finest instances of this architectural tradition fostered towards its end by the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis, the last of the Delhi Sultanate, should be produced by a relatively alien sovereign in the distant region of Bihar. The Sasaram tombs therefore are an end in themselves, they do not lead on to further developments, but stand alone, a notable termination to a long continued imperial style.

Let us now direct our attention to the other phase of the building art of Sher Shah Suri which emerged at Delhi when this ruler found himself seated on the throne of the Moslem capital after his provincial experiences in the Lower Provinces. One of his first object was to found a city, of which only the citadel, and some of the gates have survived. The citadel, now known as the "Purana Quila" or Old Fort is one of the most picturesque relics of the ancient capital, its rugged but effective walls contrasting with its dressed sandstone gates producing a romantic and artistic effect. The gates themselves, especially the main entrance, are fine examples of military architecture treated in an artistic manner, and no doubt the whole of the interior of the citadel enclosure was filled with palace buildings of a similar character. But, alas, all these courts and pavilions have been swept away, most probably by the Mughul emperor Humayun when he again ascended the throne, the only building of any account now remaining being a mosque, the Quila-i-Kuhna, no doubt Sher Shah Suri's Chapel Royal when he resided in his palaces within the citadel he had built. Humayun spared this mosque as it was sacrosanct, and it is not only a very beautiful little building but it is a key to the continuity of the style.

I have said that in the period previous to the Suri ascendancy no great structures such as mosques had been produced and that the buildings generally were of no special significance. But one or two relatively small mosques were erected at Delhi which, although nothing very great in themselves, are pointers to the subsequent development of the style. Such are the mosque attached to the Bara Gumbad dated 1495, the Moth ki Masjid c. 1505, and the Jamala Masjid 1536. The Quila-i-Kuhna-Masjid, Sher Shah's Chapel Royal was built about 1550, and represents a crystallization of the forms and experiences seen in this series of small mosque structures. In the latest of these, the Jamala Masjid, built some fifteen years previously, we see "in the rough", so to speak, all the arrangements and details which appear in such a finished and refined shape in Sher Shah's production. Each architectural feature crudely fashioned in the Jamala mosque has been improved and amplified in order to fit it for its place in the more perfected creation of the Quila-i-Kuhna.

Sher Shah's mosque is not at all a large building, its facade is barely 170 feet in width, but it presents a front elevation of marked beauty. In addition to the arcade of five archways of excellent proportions there is an elegant scheme of colouring, for its sandstone basis is enriched with insets of white marble and there are also patterns in variegated inlay. A number of its features are of a historically traditional character, as for instance the narrow turrets on each side of the central rectangular bay, the fluted mouldings of which are derived from the stellate flanges of the famous Qutb Minar, while a similar pair on the back wall illustrate the unmistakeable taper or slope, of the buildings of the Tughluq dynasty. Contrasting with these elements of the past is also a certain feature of the future as there is a slight drop, or flatness, in the curve of the arch towards the crown, marking the last stage before this shape of archway assumed the true four-centred Tudor arch of the Mughuls.

The design and execution of the interior of this mosque is of an equally high order, the effective arrangement of its five bays reproducing the elegance of the five arches of the facade. The trained assurance of its builders is well expressed in the various systems exploited in the structure of the roof. Here three different methods of what are technically known as the "phase of transition" in the angle support of the ceiling domes have been employed ; in the centre is the squinch, in the next bay a form of stalactite extremely rare, and in the end compartment is a cross rib and semi-vault of unusual design, evidently experimental. But the whole of this structure is pregnant with ideas, some of the past, others original, and still more in the nature of a trial, so that few buildings contain so many elements of tradition or promises of development. And above all it is supreme in the quality of its artistic treatment and intensely living in its architectonics, a composition well worthy of close and scientific study. There are other productions of the time of Sher Shah Sur, including a massive fortress which this ruler caused to be built at Rohtas near the town of Jhelum in the Punjab, in which the powerfulness of a stable stronghold and the excellent architectural taste of his period are most skilfully combined. But as already indicated the Quila-i-Kuhna in the Purana Qila contains the germs of the movement expressed in the most artistic terms.

As to the link that the above building at Delhi supplied connecting the monuments of the Sultanate with those which evolved later under the Mughuls, some idea of this has been already implied. That the Quila-i-Kuhna provides the key building in the development of the style has also been indicated, but it should be realized that within the walled enclosure of the Purana Quila in addition to the mosque there was undoubtedly a concentration of secular buildings, palaces and courts, durbar halls and pavilions, for the accommodation of Sher Shah and his royal entourage which have been entirely swept away. That these were buildings of notable architectural merit is proved not only by the character of the mosque, but by the exceptionally fine treatment of the gateways to the citadel, as for instance the Bara Darwaza or main entrance in the middle of the western wall, and there can be little doubt that the palaces within were of the same high standard. It was from

this group of buildings produced under the enlightened and enthusiastic regime of Sher Shah that the Mughul emperor Akbar obtained the spirit and incentive as well as many of the distinctive qualities of his own productions, such as those displayed in the fort at Agra and later in his palaces at Fatehpur Sikri. Other and more distant modes of building, the experiences of some of the provincial schools, were obviously laid under contribution to provide artistic material for these vast undertakings of the Great Mughul, but the basis of Akbar's architectural creations was undoubtedly the style maintained by the master-masons of Delhi under the intelligent patronage of Sher Shah Sur.

PERCY BROWN.

---

## The Failure of Tipu Sultan.

---

**O**UT of the horrors of war and reckless carnage, which disfigure the history of Southern India in the 18th century, emerges the vision of Tipu Sultan in tragic sublimity. A fearless warrior, an indefatigable worker, a man of cultured tastes, he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities that go to make an able ruler and a distinguished administrator. He had inherited extensive territories and a replenished treasury. He managed, however, to maintain a large army and also a navy of sorts. But he was surrounded on all sides by envious neighbours who dreaded him and his great power. He was thus continually at war and hardly got an opportunity to consolidate his own position. When he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1782, his kingdom was actually involved in war with the English. After two years' hard fighting the war ended in his triumph in 1784. During 1786-7, he was again confronted with the combined armies of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Three years later he was once again called upon to face the formidable confederacy of the English, the Nizam and the Peshwa which cost him half his dominions and three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity. This hard knock broke his backbone, so to say, and enabled Wellesley to extinguish him in the course of a two months' campaign in 1799. Tipu died the glorious death of a soldier in the field of battle.

The war which was most disastrous to Tipu's power is popularly known as the Third Mysore War. It started in December, 1789, with an attack by Tipu on the Travancore Lines and lasted till February, 1792. A study of these events will enable us to ascertain the cause of his downfall.

After capturing the Travancore Lines Tipu remained in Coimbatore trying to persuade the authorities at Madras that he entertained no ill-will towards the English. But Lord Cornwallis had already directed General Medows, the Governor of Madras, to commence hostilities against him. When Tipu was at last convinced that the English viewed his overtures with suspicion he left Coimbatore for Seringapatam in order to make preparations for the coming struggle. General Medows proceeded towards Coimbatore and on his way captured several posts in that district including Dindigul and Palghat. Col. Floyd occupied Satyamangalam; but in spite of the natural barriers of mountain and water, Tipu came upon him so suddenly that he had to evacuate the fort and retreat with heavy losses. The English forces returned to Coimbatore and Tipu after pursuing them some distance changed his tactics and marched southwards taking Daraporam, Erode and other strategic positions. An English division which was proceeding to invade Barahmahal and surprise Kistnagiri was foiled in the attempt. Tipu's excellent intelligence service had apprised him of the enemy's intention and

with amazing rapidity he checkmated them. Hearing that Medows was hastening to the aid of the English he withdrew his troops with equal alacrity to the Coromandel Coast and entirely reduced the countryside and penetrated into the heart of the English territory. Fortune was less kind to him in the western districts where he lost Cannanore. Thus ended the first stage of the war completely establishing Tipu's superiority in arms. He thus proved himself to be a skilful general, a strategist and tactician of the first order. The rapidity of his movements testified to his boundless energy and confounded his enemies.

The arrival of Lord Cornwallis in December, 1790, to conduct the campaign personally marks the second stage of the war. His presence instilled fresh vigour in the ranks of the British army. The allies—the Mahrattas and the Nizam—who had been lukewarm so far stirred themselves into activity. Cornwallis was bent upon prosecuting the war to a vigorous finish. It must not be supposed that he underestimated the prowess of his adversary. However he openly declared that in this war he had everything to lose and nothing to gain and would be for ever disgraced if Tipu beat him (1).

Cornwallis assumed command of the British forces at Vellout near Vellore and made straight for Bangalore. He did not meet with any resistance till he reached Bangalore and laid siege to it.

When the assault was made Tipu's garrison put up a stubborn fight and did not surrender till their gallant commandant, Bahadur Khan, fell fighting. Cornwallis was so greatly impressed by his gallantry that he at once took charge of his dead body, preserved it in a coffin and offered to send it to Tipu for burial with due honour. Tipu was filled with admiration for his lordship's chivalrous gesture and despatched on the same day the following letter from his camp :

'I am in receipt of your lordship's friendly letter saying that Bahadur Khan had performed every act of bravery and courage, loyalty and fidelity and had at length laid down his life in my service. Befitting your own high rank and station you had caused the body of Bahadur Khan to be preserved in a coffin. If I so wished, you would send it to my camp or else, I might depute some people from here to bury it at Bangalore. This act of yours has convinced me of the perfectly noble qualities of your lordship. Doubtless, it is incumbent on great Chiefs to pay particular attention to matters of this nature. I therefore request that since there are Muhammadans in Bangalore who are acquainted with the funeral rites that have to be performed, the body may be handed to them with directions to bury it, in one of the shrines sacred to the memory of the saints. Dated the 23rd March, 1791 (2)!

The next objective after Bangalore was Seringapatam. Tipu's capital, towards which Cornwallis now decided to advance. On the way he was

(1) Cornwallis' Correspondence, Ed., Ross, Vol. II, page 52.

(2) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 23 March, 1791, No. 78.

joined by the Nizam's forces under Raja Tejwant. Success seemed within his grasp ; but Tipu's cavalry so effectively cut off his communications and his supplies that he had to beat a hasty retreat to Bangalore.

Early in the following year (1792) Cornwallis once again set out for Seringapatam accompanied by the Nizam's forces. The lessons of the last campaign were not lost on him and this time he took every precaution to keep his communications open. The Mahratta and the Bombay armies were then operating in the west so successfully that when Cornwallis moved towards Seringapatam Tipu was like a person entrapped without the least hope of being rescued. He avoided the fatal blow by immediately seeking for peace. The victorious allies dictated their own terms. He was forced to part with half of his dominions, pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as indemnity and surrendered two of his sons as hostages.

It will be seen that Tipu held his own against his adversaries, the English, during the first two years of the war in spite of the fact that he had just emerged from a conflict with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. He had beaten Medows and confounded Cornwallis. It was not until the Mahrattas and the Nizam had entered the arena that the Mysore Tiger was brought to bay. The cause of his ultimate failure has therefore to be sought for in quarters other than the field of battle.

Far and away from the theatres of war, diplomatic agents at Poona and Huderabad were briskly canvassing for support for one side or another. Every argument, every inducement was employed by them. Cornwallis was ably served in both the courts by men who eventually carried their point. On the 29th December, 1789, Tipu attacked the Travancore Lines and on the 8th February, 1790, Charles Malet, the English Resident at Poona, communicated to Cornwallis with 'patriotic delight' that the Peshwa's government had declared its readiness to side with the English against Tipu.<sup>(3)</sup> On the 6th June a treaty was executed formally between the parties by which the terms of mutual co-operation were fixed. While Malet was thus engaged at Poona, Sir John Kennaway, the Resident at Hyderabad, induced the Nizam to join this alliance of the three powers—the English, the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

The formation of this confederacy was a great triumph for Cornwallis as it meant the bringing together of mutually hostile parties into the same camp. The Maharattas and the Nizam were jealous of each other and viewed their mutual activities with profound suspicion. But the dread of Tipu provided the meeting ground and hatred of the common foe held the alliance together. No wonder that they fell out as soon as the danger was removed.

It reflects great credit to the diplomatic skill of Malet that he succeeded in inducing the Peshwa's government first to join the alliance and then to participate actively in the war, for Nana Farnavis, who directed the affairs of the Peshwa's government, was the most difficult person for negotiation. His tactics consisted in evasion and procrastination. He would keep half a dozen ambassadors hanging around him at Poona without giving a definite

---

(3) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 69.



reply to the point at issue. He believed that with the passage of time every question would solve itself. Nana was intrigued when the English proposed the alliance, but he would have prolonged the negotiations as was his wont, had not Tipu already taken the field. The Nizam was conspiring with the English and in case they united firmly there would be an end to his dreams of ultimately subjugating the Nizam. He therefore gave his consent to the conclusion of the treaty which was soon executed and ratified in due form. How anxious Lord Cornwallis was to form this alliance and what importance he attached to it may be gathered from the compliments he bestowed on Malet on the successful conclusion of the negotiations when he said that he was 'personally obliged' to the Resident and would recommend him for 'some distinguished mark of approbation from the Court of Directors' (4).

Again, in his letter to Kennaway he thus expressed himself: 'Without the co-operation of the Mahrattas I could not flatter myself with a certain prospect of a speedy conclusion as well as the decided success of the war, two events which are absolutely necessary to save the government and indeed the English Company's affairs from the greatest possible distress; besides that if they had not taken part with us there would always have been reason to apprehend that their jealousy of our getting the Nizam out of their hands might in the course of the contest have been inclined them to take part against us' (5).

The negotiations with the Nizam presented a peculiar difficulty. He hated and feared Tipu and was only too eager for an alliance with the English. Cornwallis offered him the hand of fellowship. He would fain have grasped it but shrank back on learning that the Mahrattas were also to join the confederacy. The Nizam knew that Nana Farnavis had designed on him and suspected that he had joined the confederacy to mobilize his armies and march them up to the frontiers of Hyderabad and during his absence from his dominions, the Mahratta hordes might overrun his country. And he had good ground for entertaining such suspicion. Only three years ago when the combined armies of the Nizam and the Peshwa were fighting Tipu, Holkar had treacherously raided the Nawab's dominion in collusion with Tipu.(6) The Nizam therefore insisted that a separate article in their treaty must guarantee the integrity of his territories. This was an impossible demand as it was bound to offend Mahratta susceptibilities.

The Nizam's principal object in seeking the alliance with the English was his emancipation from the power of the Mahrattas but Cornwallis' views were confined to the reduction of Tipu's power and speedy termination of the war. It therefore required much coaxing and persuasion to make him subscribe to the treaty already formed with the Peshwa. Not until he had received definite and repeated assurances in private regarding the English assistance in case of Mahratta aggression, did he sign the treaty and join the confederacy.

(4) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, page 174.

(5) *Ibid.*, page 157.

(6) *Ibid.*, pages 259, 266, 268.

While Cornwallis was thus exerting by every means to reconcile the conflicting interests of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, Tipu on his part, was casting about in every direction for help and support. He sent his emissaries to every Court and opened correspondence with each one of them. But he lacked the brilliant advocacy and persuasive eloquence which Cornwallis and his agents employed to such good purpose. And he thus failed to win a single ally.

At the outset of the war, Tipu wrote to General Medows assuring him that he did not intend to fight the English and lamented the misunderstanding that had caused the two powers to mass their troops near the Travancore Lines. To restore mutual confidence he proposed to send a deputy to explain matters. But Cornwallis had already determined to fight to the finish and so the proposals of an amicable settlement met with no response.

Tipu then concentrated on winning over the Mahrattas. He succeeded in enlisting the influential support of the Rasta family to advance his cause. His envoys entered Poona with Luximan Rao Rasta at the head of a stately procession heralded by the boom of guns announcing the capture of the Travancore Lines by Tipu. They brought with them liberal supplies of money and offer of territory.(7)

The negotiations opened in an atmosphere of hopefulness. There was great excitement at Poona. It was even feared that civil strife might break out, if Rasta was not allowed to have his own way. Malet was alarmed. The treaty between the English and the Peshwa, although discussed and approved, had not yet been executed. The enemy's envoys were publicly received. The Mahratta contingent that was to join the English detachment from Bombay according to the plan agreed upon was not yet moving. All these circumstances joined to confirm the suspicions of double-dealing on the part of Nana Farnavis.

Malet was not the man to take all this lying down. He vehemently opposed the public reception of Tipu's envoys and in every meeting with the Peshwa's ministers urged their dismissal, pointing out the incompatibility of their engagements with the English and the continued residence of these envoys at Poona. His labours bore fruit. Nana for once seemed to have made up his mind to join the confederacy and reject the overtures of Tipu. At the same time he was determined to extract from the envoys the money that they had brought with them. This was however no very difficult problem for a man of Nana's resourcefulness. A little coaxing, a little gentle pressure and they yielded up the treasures amounting to 15 lakhs of rupees.

These poor creatures were no match for Nana's cunning. They were so completely subjugated by his dominant personality that they not only failed to achieve their object but also by placing 15 lakhs of rupees in the hands of Nana provided him with funds for equipping an army against their master.

Meantime the war raged fiercely. Disappointed at Poona, Tipu concentrated on detaching the Nizam from the confederacy. He had already

---

(7) Poona Residency Correspondence, Volume III, pages 133, 138, 159.

been intriguing at Hyderabad but now renewed his efforts with greater zeal. He applied to the Nizam, his generals and ministers in the name of Islam to unite with him 'for the greater strength and glory of the true faith'. To the Nizam he wrote thus: 'The advantages and benefits of unity and harmony among the followers of Islam are certainly exposed to your full view and indeed they cannot remain hidden from your omniscient wisdom. Similarly, the good and evil of the circumstances of other peoples of the present times must be clear to the presence. I am sure that your blessed mind is ever engaged in adopting measures to increase the power of Islam and the splendour of the faith of Muhammad as indeed befits the world of leadership and your good name. You will please suggest the ways and means for affording protection to the honour, life and property of the people who are dependent on Muhammadan chiefs and who in fact constitute a unique trust held for God, the Real Master. It is unnecessary to write more. I have in view only the welfare of the creatures of God and the progress of the firm faith. I have despatched Mahdi Ali Khan to seek the honour of waiting on you and of informing you of the particulars of my sincerity and attachment with a view to removing your displeasure. I hope you will honour me by your letters' (8).

But Mahdi Ali Khan was no diplomat. He simply acted as a courier and impressed nobody. His feeble efforts were easily thwarted by the circum-spection of Kennaway, the English Resident at Hyderabad. Far from pressing his mission he failed even to obtain an audience with the Nizam or his minister. But Tipu was in dead earnest. After his letter to the Nizam he wrote one to his wife, Bakhshi Begam. This was rather an unusual step to take, for the ladies of the harem are not supposed to take active part in politics or interest themselves in affairs of State. Tipu was however determined to leave no stone turned. He addressed the Begam in the following terms:

'Your Highness well knows the kindness and favour which out of consideration for the attachment manifested by my late father in the Arcot war, you were pleased to show to us and which has suffered no diminution up to the present moment. I am fully convinced that the foundation of the true religion of Islam derives strength from his Highness, the Nizam and the Muhammadan Chiefs receive support from him. It appears now that owing to the representations of interested persons the mind of His Highness which is bright as the sun is clouded with the dust of displeasure. I hope that you will be pleased to make use of your friendly interposition so that His Highness's gracious favour may be manifested towards me, the enemies of the true religion be overthrown and the troops which are supposed to have been sent to their assistance be recalled. In order to represent these points of ancient and present attachment and show my readiness to conform to His Highness's wishes, Mahdi Ali Khan, who has long since been employed

---

(8) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 11 January, 1792, No 16.

in an ambassadorial capacity to the presence, is deputed to you. He will minutely represent all the circumstances. What more need I say?'(9)

The reports of these intrigues naturally alarmed Cornwallis and he made anxious enquiries about their nature and extent. Kennaway allayed the fears of his lordship by assuring him that the allies could be trusted on this occasion to remain steadfast to their treaty 'from its being in their interest to adhere to it. Besides that it would be difficult for him (Tipu) to hold out objects which they will not obtain in a more complete manner by an honourable and upright conduct. I conceive the security they derive from the treaty against the effects of his future ambition and resentment (effects of which without our support they would have serious reason to be apprehensive of) gives us a hold on them which I can hardly imagine we may not with safety trust to' (10). Kennaway was right. In reply to his impassioned appeals Tipu was coldly referred by the Nizam and his wife to Lord Cornwallis for any negotiations he had to make.

This is not the solitary instance of Tipu's failure in diplomacy, as we have noticed above. In his time he entered into negotiations with all the Indian powers and even made overtures to Afghanistan, Turkey and France. But everywhere he failed. Diplomacy was not his line. Though he penned his letters himself and was the master of an elegant style in persian, and though he watched with a keen eye every detail of his administration, he was essentially a man of the sword, not a diplomat.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

---

(9) I. R. D., Original Persian Letter Received, 13 August, 1791, No. 379.

(10) Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. III, page 464.

## Jagabandhu Vidyadhara.

---

**T**HERE is a plentiful reference to Jagabandhu Vidyadhara in the historical records preserved in the archives of the Commissioner of Orissa at Cuttack and the Commissioner of Chotanagpur at Ranchi.

Bukshee Jugbundoo Bedeadhur, as he is so styled in the records, was the proprietor (zemindar) of Killa Rorong and was one of the most prominent figures in the Cuttack disturbances of 1817. He was proclaimed a rebel in April, 1817, and a reward of Rupees Five Thousand was offered for his person, either dead or alive. Other insurgents were at the same time outlawed. Of these the seizure of Kishunchand Bedeadhur, Dhurmoo Hurrychundun and Meer Hyder Ali was thought to be particularly desirable. Every attempt was made to get information about the retreat where he had been in hiding. Jugbundoo was not only allowed by the Raja of Nyagarh to pass through his territory but was given asylum together with other rebels (1). Robert Ker, Commissioner of Cuttack and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa, was in communication with Major Roughsedge Commanding South West Frontier, whose co-operation he sought in ferreting him out. In two letters of July, 1818 he confirmed the information Roughsedge gave about the haunts of Jugbundoo and intimated that Raja Chunder Seekur Deo of Boad had evinced a satisfactory disposition and engaged several Kund (Khond) Zemindars to assist him in seizing the outlaw and his principal assistants. He, however, suspected that some Tributary Hill Rajas who were in league with Jugbundoo (especially the Raja of Goomsur) would rescue him, and the Raja of Boad hesitated to act unless protected by a party of British troops.

Every possible source had been tapped for information that might lead to the discovery of the haunt of the rebel. Brigadier General Thomas, commanding Cuttack, found a Rajput named Bhoop Bharan Singh by whom he was informed that he had been sent by Jagbandoo to solicit military aid from the Mahrattas, but recommended that the Rajput might be pardoned as he had no concern in the rebellion (2). He, however, warned Ker that the man could not be relied on, and asked him to be cautious.

The officer commanding Sambalpur informed Ker with regret that the Raja of Boad who had been supported by a party of sipahis and 150 barkandazes failed to apprehend Jagbundoo and his associates (26th Sept., 1818). A. Stirling sent two prisoners from Sambalpur to the Magistrate of

---

(1) Major-General Martindell to Melville, Magistrate, Cuttack, 4th February, 1818.

(2) To R. Ker, 24th July, 1818.

Cuttack with a view to examining them regarding the whereabouts of the outlaw (5th Oct., 1818).

The Brigadier General communicated to Ker a secret arrangement by which he hoped with the help of the Rajas of Baud and Goomsur, and Bhup Baran Singh, to apprehend Jugbundoo and his associates.

W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government, wrote to Ker informing him that the Governor General in Council entertained little hope of the early apprehension of Jugbundoo and was persuaded that the tranquillity of Kurda could not be considered to be permanently secure so long as he remained at large and asked the Commissioner to suggest specific terms which might be offered to the rebel to induce him to make a voluntary surrender. Ker suggested the offer of free pardon to the man (20th and 23rd October, Ranchi and Cuttack Records).

The rebel Dinabandhu Santra and his party surrendered and were granted pardon (9th Nov. 1818).

In a letter dated 9th November, 1818 Forrester, Jt. Magistrate and Dy. Collector, Khurda, reported on the state of Khurda and the measures he had adopted in restoring tranquillity and he suggested the offer of pardon to Jagbundoo and the Dewan, and grant of an allowance of Rs. 300/- and 100/- respectively. A proposal was also made for declaring a general amnesty in which rebel Madhusudan Santra and his followers were included (14th and 22nd. Dec., 1818).

In a letter dated 15th January, 1819 the Brigadier General informed Ker that his attempt to induce the Zemindar of Goomsur to surrender Jagbundoo had failed. The Brigadier made an attack on the party of Jugbundoo, but he escaped. He informed Ker that amongst the prisoners taken with Baksey's baggage there was a person named Jagennath Ray who declared that the Baksey, his master, had fled by Noaghur into Baud and would take his refuge in Sambalpur (14th July, 1819). On 29th October, 1819 he informed Ker that that he had secured the persons of the wife and family of Jugbundoo with all valuables and also the wife and family of Pandab Patnaik, all of whom he had sent to Mr. Forrester under escort.

A reward of Rs. 1,000/- was offered for the apprehension of Pitabas Mungraj and his associates.

It was ordered that Radhamani Juna Dey, and Chaturmoni Juna Dey, the elder and younger wives, and Gopenauth Bedeadhur the son, of Jugbundoo, with others were to be placed under personal restraint at the fort of Barabatee, to be dealt with under orders of Governor General in Council according to the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 (21st July, 1820). This was done on the recommendation of A. Stirling, the Commissioner, who wanted them to be treated as state prisoners till further report was obtained for order of their release. In a letter dated 12th August, 1820 he recommended their release.

Reports were received of atrocities being committed by the Baksey and his men on the Banpur frontier (21st Feb., 1821).

In a letter dated 22nd June, 1822 the Commissioner submitted to Government a proposal regarding the surrender of Jugbundoo Bideadhur and his Dewan, Kishen Chandra Bhowrbur (who headed the Cuttack insurrection) on promise of pardon, and forwarded for His Excellency's consideration a memoir on the subject prepared by Mr. Stirling. In November, 1822 the Commissioner communicated to the Joint Magistrate of Khoorda the order of Government that the Bakshi and his Dewan would receive full pardon if they surrendered within two months of the specified date, his estate would be forfeited to Government, and an allowance of Rs. 100/- was to be granted to the Bakshi and Rs. 50/- to the Dewan for maintenance.

This conditional offer of pardon did not produce favourable impression on the rebels and they still held out. Meanwhile the Governor General in Council approved of the measures for confiscating the estates of Jagbundoo and others (4th Sep., 1823). The Joint Magistrate of Khoorda informed the Commissioner that the Bakshi and his Dewan were residing in the state of Raja of Nyagurh, and they received supplies from heads of several villages.

It was reported that the Bakshi was attempting to create disturbances at Khoorda (Cuttack—Russil bundles, 17th Nov., 1824).

In a letter dated 30th May, 1825 the Magistrate of Cuttack submitted proposals to the Commissioner (Mr. Blunt) recommending remission of one year's Peshkush to the Raja of Nyagarh and a payment of Rs. 2,000/- to Barjoo Paikra Bebartha of Nyagarh, and Rs. 1,000/- to Waz Mahommed, Serishtadar, Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, to cause Jugbundoo to surrender.

On the 25th Nov., 1825 he informed T. Pakenham, Commissioner, that Dewan Krishna Chandra Bhramarabara was willing to surrender on the terms offered by Government provided he got a perwana of pardon from the office and requested to be furnished with such a perwana. This was communicated to H. Shakespeare, Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department (3rd Jan., 1826).

On 2nd January, 1826 the Joint Magistrate of Khoordah informed T. Pakenham, Commissioner, that Keshanchand had surrendered on conditions set forth by Government and recommended that his allowance might be increased to Rs. 100/- and reward given to persons who procured his surrender.

Pardon was offered to Jugbundoo on 22nd May, 1826, and he received a pension of Rs. 150/- per month (which was communicated in Mr. Commissioner Blunt's orders of 1st July, 1825).

On 26th January, 1829, R. Hunter, Collector of Cuttack, reported to Pakenham, Commissioner, the demise of Jugbundoo Bedeadhur, leaving two widows and a son Gopeenath Bideadhur, aged 9 years to whom Killa Rorung, the property of his father was restored (28th April, 1829).

KALIPADA MITRA.

## Governor Elihu Yale of Fort St. George, Madras, & Yale University.

---

**F**EW people are probably aware of the intimate connection that existed between India and one of the oldest Universities of the United States of America. Yale University situated at New Haven, Connecticut is named after Mr. Elihu Yale, the Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, from 1687 to 1692, during a very stormy time in the domestic chronicles of that city. The connection came about in a curiously roundabout manner. The University itself began to take shape in the first year of the 18th century, but was not of large dimensions until the year 1718 when it received a cargo of gifts including besides books, East India goods which were sold in Boston for £562-12-0, and from which date it began its flourishing development. This endowment was bequeathed to the founders of this scholastic enterprise by Elihu Yale, and in gratitude its trustees gave the budding university the name of Yale College, this institution becoming of University status in 1887. A somewhat parallel case is that of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington which was founded in the middle of the last century by the bequest of James Smithson a British chemist and mineralogist, a very important centre of learning in the United States due to the beneficence of an able but slightly eccentric Englishman.

Elihu Yale however had no great scholastic pretensions but on the other hand he was an administrator of some distinction. His interest in America was owing to Boston having been his birthplace, as he was born there about 1650 when his father, Thomas Yale, was on a visit there. Afterwards he came out to India as a Writer in 1672 drawing a salary of five pounds a year. In the course of time his bold enterprise and strong character marked him out for ministerial preferment, and in 1687 he became one of the famous merchant governors of Fort St. George, an appointment which he held for five years. A contemporary of Job Charnock, Yale had the responsibility of entertaining the founder of Calcutta, when he and his staff were deputed to Madras in 1689.

Yale's tenure of office was no sinecure, but some of his troubles were no doubt brought about by his very forthright manner. His relations with the members of his council were far from harmonious, as an extract from one of his letters to them will show. This epistle begins "To the worshipful Council of Fort St. George, I have been thus long silent to your scurrilous paper of the 10th November, as well to conceal your insolent malice, as to silence your turbulencies : but I see such mildness rather emboldens than



calms them, as by your new venomous production, whose audacious falsities and threats provoke me to a plainer answer than I intended". . . .

Such correspondence naturally made enemies, and the very considerable fortune he amassed brought him under suspicion, so that he was attacked accordingly. But time has shown that his wealth was accumulated in the ordinary course of trade, as was permitted to the servants of the Company in those days, and although reported as a man "with a hard heart, and an ungovernable temper", he was not dishonest. That he gave freely is shown by his bequest to the American College, and also by the gift of a large and handsome alms-dish to St. Mary's Church Fort St. George engraved with Yale's coat of arms and an inscription bearing the date 1687. The latter commemorates the death of his small son David, his only child, who to his great grief died that year, and whose tombstone is one of the three of that period in the old cemetery of Madras which escaped destruction in the 18th century.

Yale himself having retired to England lies buried in Wrexham, the tower of the Yale University memorial quadrangle being designed on the lines of that of Wrexham Church as a tribute and monument to its first donor. On the tombstone of Yale in Wrexham churchyard, after recording that he died in 1721, is the following epitaph.

"Born in America, in Europe bred,  
In Africa travelled, in Asia wed,  
Where long he lived and thrived ; in London dead ;  
Much good, some ill, he did ; so hope all's even,  
And that his soul through mercy's gone to Heaven.  
You that survive, and read this tale, take care  
For this most certain exit to prepare ;  
Where blest in peace the actions of the just  
Smell sweet, and blossom in the silent dust".

It is interesting to think that when the Yale College Yell resounds in the Yale Bowl or on the touchlines of any of America's sports stadiums, that there is a silent and solemn record of this collegiate chorus in a Welsh churchyard, with a still more distant one in the vestry of St. Mary's and in the pathetic little memorial in the old cemetery of Madras.

P. B.

## Dr. Walter Kelly Firminger.

---

ON the 27th of February, 1940, the death took place, at Hampton Court Palace, of the Ven'ble Dr. Walter Kelly Firminger in his 70th year. He had been Chaplain to the King at Hampton Court Palace since 1926. His Funeral Service was performed on Friday the 1st of March 1940, at noon, in the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Cemetery.

Dr. Firminger was the son of a former Chaplain, the Rev. T. A. C. Firminger, who was on the Indian establishment, and all his life a keen horticulturalist, his book, "A Manual of Gardening for Bengal and Upper India" being a standard work on the subject.

Dr. W. K. Firminger graduated from Menton College, Oxford, but achieved only a third class with honours in the school of Modern History.

After his ordination to the diaconate at Hereford in 1893, Dr. W. K. Firminger went to Mombassa, East Africa, and ordained priest there in 1895, and afterwards to Zanzibar to join the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and was there ordained subdean in 1896. Here he remained until 1897, when on account of a breakdown in health he was obliged to return to England, when during his stay there he married Miss Eveleen Miles, daughter of Rev. P. E. Miles, Odstock Rectory, Salisbury, "an ideal union of two who seemed made for each other". He did not remain long in England but came to Calcutta in 1899 as junior Chaplain at the Cathedral. He proved himself to be diligent and efficient in his duties as parish priest, being ably seconded by his wife. He was also an enthusiastic Mason of high rank.

In appreciation of his services he was granted the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.), and subsequently in 1919 the Doctor of Divinity (D.D.) thus becoming a very notable figure in the ecclesiastical life of Bengal and India generally.

Dr. Firminger succeeded in a very remarkable degree in gaining the confidence and affection of those men, irrespective of caste, creed and colour, whom he happened to be in contact with even for a moment. In 1910 when he was engaged in research work in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, the present writer had an opportunity of working with Dr. Firminger for a few months having to assist him in tracing out and copying certain documents from the archives there.

But it was as a historian and a profound research scholar that he deserves to be particularly remembered. He was a most accurate and painstaking investigator and was never weary of placing his wide knowledge—both historical and ecclesiastical—at the disposal of those engaged in any form of research. His self-effacement was such that he seemed to prefer that

others should enjoy the fruit of his labours. The most extraordinarily interesting and important sixteenth century manuscript known as "The Commentary of Father Anthony Montserrat, S.J., on his journey to the Court of Akbar" was discovered by him in 1906, in a heap of worm-eaten and damaged books and manuscripts left uncared for in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta. This valuable original Commentary had been previously extracted from the huge mass of insect-devoured books and passed on to the custody of the Cathedral authorities from the Library of Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William, whence it was subsequently transferred to the Calcutta Public Library in Metcalfe Hall. The late Father Hosten's recension of the original Latin text was published in 1914 in the third Vol. of the Memoirs of the Asiatic (now Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 9, pp. 514—704).

But had the original manuscript not been discovered and saved from the ravages of insects by Dr. Firminger as explained above, the Latin text of it could not have been published, and the loss would have been irreparable.

At the first inaugural meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 27th April 1907, which was presided over by the Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., the then Chief Justice of Bengal, the Rev. W. K. Firminger was unanimously appointed Honorary Editor of the Society's journal *Bengal : Past & Present*, and he held that office almost continuously until he finally retired from India in 1922.

There can be no question that but for the sustained endeavours of the Rev. W. K. Firminger, as the Hony. Editor of *Bengal : Past & Present*, a position he held for 15 years since its inception, the popularity of the Society and its journal would not have materialized in the manner that it did, while even on his retirement from India he all along evinced an unflagging interest in the Society's journal. Notable contributions from his pen will be found distributed throughout the volumes of *Bengal : Past & Present*. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society and remained so till the last day of his life. The Calcutta Historical Society therefore loses in him a valuable member, the *Bengal : Past & Present* an enthusiastic worker, an erudite contributor, and a staunch supporter. His friends had hoped that the Rev. W. K. Firminger would long be spared to continue his useful and scholarly productions. Yet he has passed away mature in years and with many honours, *Diis aliter visum*, and we are left to deplore the loss of one whose place it will be difficult to fill.

NARENDRANATH GANGULY.

Assistant, Imperial Record Dept.  
(on leave)

## Editor's Note Book.

---

THE Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to establish a weekly Dawk between (this) the Bengal Presidency and that of Bombay, which used to be despatched from Calcutta regularly every Monday evening; and His Lordship had also been pleased to direct that, until further orders, the letters of individuals should be received and forwarded free of postage with the Public Dispatch. The Dawk was to proceed via Masulipatam and Poona, and it might be expected to reach Bombay in a month or five weeks.

---

AT page 177 of the "Memoirs of George Elers" we find the following curious reference to James Balfour of Whittinghame:

James Balfour of Whittinghame. (2) "There was living in 1805 at Madras a civilian named James Balfour. He had been suspended from the service for taking a horse as a present from some of the natives. He got restored and as I had parted with all my horses, he was so kind as to lend me one to ride, and I fed him. The Honorable Basil Cochrane had for many years held the contract for supplying the Navy with meat, provisions, etc., and made a very handsome fortune; but he kept open house for every officer in the Navy from the poor mid to the Post Captain. This must have reduced his means of saving a very large fortune, which he might otherwise have done. My friend James Balfour, soon after I left India got Cochrane's situation. He only held it a very few years; and he had made £300,000, and left a Scotchman by the name MacConnachy to act for him at an allowance of £6,000 a year. Balfour made this enormous fortune in about four years, as he told me. He bought a house in Grosvenor Square, became an M.P. and married (Lady Eleanor Maitland) a daughter of the (eighth) Earl of Lauderdale (and died in 1845). He did not, like Cochrane, keep open house, or, if he did, it was only the doors and windows."

N. G.

---

(1) Extract from Calcutta Gazette.

(2) Ancestor of Earl of Balfour.

# Calcutta Historical Society.

---

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

### PROCEEDINGS

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held at the Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on Friday, the 28th June 1940, at 6 P.M. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., took the Chair.

The Chairman opened the meeting by proposing a resolution placing on record the profound sorrow of the Society at the death of Rev. W. K. Firminger, one of the founders of the Society and one to whom the Society owed a debt of deep gratitude which it could never repay.

The Resolution adopted all standing in solemn silence.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secretary of the Society, read the following Annual Report for the year 1939 :

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR, 1939.

Since the transfer of the Imperial Record Department to New Delhi early in 1936 the Committee of the Calcutta Historical Society has had many difficulties to overcome, particularly in regard to the publication of the journal : "Bengal, Past & Present", which is now issued half-yearly as a double number, instead of a quarterly one. The work of the Society would have been rendered much more difficult had not Major H. Hobbs, our Hony. Treasurer, permitted the Committee to store the records, books and blocks of the Society in his office at No. 9, Old Court House Street, and in his godown in Marquis Street.

As Major Hobbs now requires that accommodation, the Committee will have to look out almost immediately for a suitable place where our records, books, blocks, etc. can be stored free of charge. I may mention here for your information that all the records, books and blocks of the Society are now packed in 34 packing cases.

I am happy to report that the Calcutta Historical Society has now entered into the 34th year of its existence.

During the year under review the membership of the Society numbered 111 as against 122 of the previous year. Although there is an addition of one Life member in the list of members, the decrease in the total is due to the resignation, death and removal of the names of some Ordinary members whose subscriptions had fallen heavily into arrears.

The credit balance at the Mercantile Bank of India Ltd. upto the 31st of December 1939, as will be seen from the Financial Statement drawn up and

submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, amounts to Rs. 1139-11-8, out of which Rs. 1,000/- belongs to the Fixed Deposit (Genl. Fund). In the Index Fund there is a balance of Rs. 86-9-7 in the Current Account. The Society is indebted to Major H. Hobbs for advancing the sum of Rs. 260/- in order to meet the urgent demand of our Printers which enabled us to leave our Fixed Deposit undisturbed. During the year under report the subscriptions of 24 Ordinary members amounting to Rs. 990/- fell into arrears. Out of this amount Rs. 160/- has been realised. Of the remaining figure a sum of about Rs. 300/- is due from subscribers who are now in England. We have every hope of realising this amount as soon as things settle down a bit. It is earnestly hoped that members of the Committee will use their personal influence, where possible, to realise these arrears, and also try and enlist new members. Unless something is done, and done quickly, it will be extremely difficult for the Editorial Committee to carry on the work of the Society and its Journal.

During the year under review we lost by death two of our distinguished members, Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., and Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S.

Sir Evan Cotton was one of the most valued and enthusiastic members of the Society and an unfailing tower of strength to us. His encyclopaedic knowledge of British Indian history enabled him to enrich the pages of "Bengal: Past & Present" and his death is an irreparable loss to the Society.

Mr. Mesroby J. Seth was also a regular contributor to the *Journal* of the Society. His knowledge of Armenian History and the connexion of his fellow countrymen with India was extraordinarily wide. He was one of the oldest members of the Society and a staunch supporter of all its activities.

We deeply mourn their loss.

Prominent among those whose valuable contributions have enabled us to maintain the high standard of our Journal may be mentioned :

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Rao Saheb C. B. Srinivasa-chariar, M.A., Prof. A. K. Nilkanta Sastri, M.A., Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Prof. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Major H. Hobbs, Dr. Baini Prashad, D.Sc., F.Z.S., Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L. The Committee express their heartfelt thanks to them and hope that they will continue to take the same interest in the Society and its Journal in the future. The special thanks of the Society are due to Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., etc. for kindly taking up the honorary editorship of "Bengal: Past & Present" during the temporary absence of Mr. Percy Brown from India.

Mr. D. C. Ghose proposed and Mr. N. Ganguly seconded the adoption of the Report.

Carried unanimously.

The Hony. Treasurer Major H. Hobbs read the audited accounts for the year 1939 drawn up by the Honorary Auditors Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis.

**GENERAL FUND.**

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
	R <sup>s.</sup>	A <sup>s.</sup> P.		R <sup>s.</sup>	A <sup>s.</sup> P.
To Balance as at 1st January 1939.			By Printing including Blocks & Reprints		
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.	181	6 5	Honorarium to Hony. Secretary's Clerk	1,165	5 0
On Current Account	1,000	0 0	Bank Charges	30	0 0
" Fixed Deposit			Postage, Stationery and Sundries	1	14 0
			Balance at 31st December 1939	77	5 9
Subscriptions realised			With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.		
Arrears	160	0 0	On Current Account	139	11 8
Current	570	0 0	" Fixed Deposit	1,000	0 0
Sale of Society's Journal	227	6 0			
Interest on Fixed Deposit	15	8 0	Less Advance by Maj. H. Hobbs	1,139	11 8
				260	0 0
				879	11 8

**9th May, 1940.**

**LOVELOCK & LEWIS,**  
*Chartered Accountants,  
Registered Accountants,  
Hony. Auditors.*

## INDEX FUND.



# Calcutta Historical Society.

---

## Publications.

---

**Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.**—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta: arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

**The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.**—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

**Bengal : Past and Present.**—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 4, Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8, and Vols. XIX—XXIX, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

**To be obtained from the office of the Calcutta Historical Society,  
3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta.**

**Or from the office of the Hony. Treasurer,  
2, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.**

---



---

PRINTED BY S. C. MAJUMDAR AT THE SRI GOURANGA PRESS,  
5, & 6, CHINTAMANI DAS LANE, CALCUTTA.

---

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE  
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

---

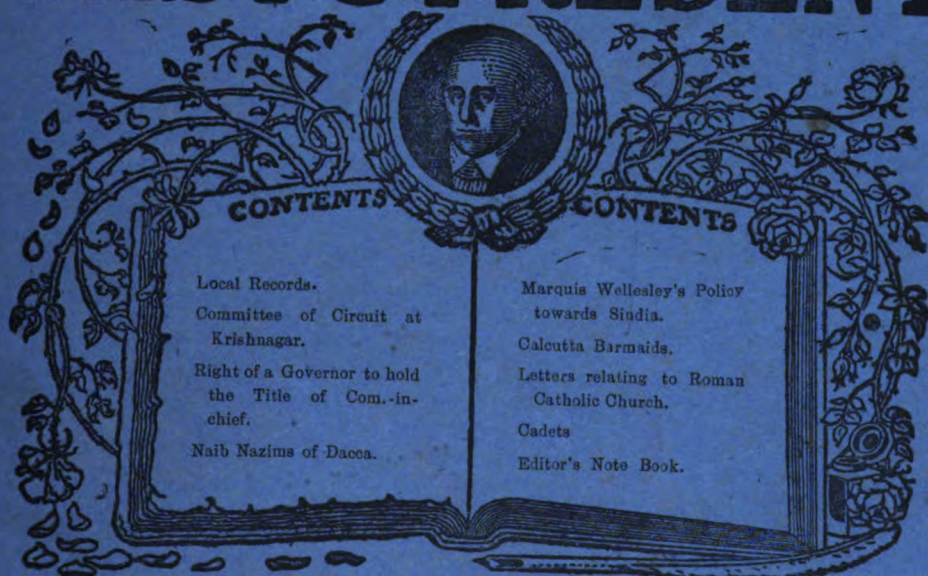
**MOON LIGHT PUBLISHERS**

Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi-24, India





# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



Local Records.

Committee of Circuit at  
Krishnagar.

Right of a Governor to hold  
the Title of Com.-in-  
chief.

Naib Nazims of Dacca.

Marquis Wellesley's Policy  
towards Sindia.

Calcutta Barmaids.

Letters relating to Roman  
Catholic Church.

Cadets

Editor's Note Book.





# Calcutta Historical Society.

## President :

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.,  
THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

## Patrons :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW, P.C., K.T.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.  
THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.I.E., G.B.E.  
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE COUNTESS OF LYTTON, C.I.  
LIEUT.-COL. THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS STANLEY JACKSON, P.C., G.C.I.E.

## Vice-Patrons :

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE MOST REVEREND DR. FERDINAND PERIER, S. J., ARCHBISHOP OF CALCUTTA.  
THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD, AMIR-UL-OMRAH, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.  
MAHARAJADHIRAJ SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

## Vice-Presidents :

MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	LIEUT.-COL. D. G. CRAWFORD, I.M.S., (Retired).
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.	MR. A. CASSELLS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired).
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.	MON. HARIHAR SETT, CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR (CHANDER- NAGORE).
RAJA JANAKINATH ROY.	
MAJOR V. C. P. HODSON.	

## Members of Council :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.     | 11. MAJOR H. HOBBS.  |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.           | 12. MR. J. G. BROOKER,   |
| 3. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.         | 13. MR. PERCY BROWN.   |
| 4. MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.                           | 14. MR. N. GANGULY.  |
| 5. DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.                                       | 15. MR. R. MAULIK.   |
| 6. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN,<br>M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW. | 16. MAHARAJA KUMAR PROBIRENDRA MOHAN<br>TAGORE.                    |
| 7. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.                                     | 17. MR. D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.                                       |
| 8. MR. NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI, M.A.                                | 18. SIR A. H. GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.                                     |
| 9. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.                                   | 19. THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL<br>HUQ, C.I.E.              |
| 10. MR. A. LEHURAU.   | 20. DR. BAINI PRASAD, D.Sc., F.L.S., F.Z.S.,<br>F.R.S.E., F.A.B.S. |

## Executive Committee :

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.     | 7. MR. R. MAULIK.                     |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.           | 8. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.     |
| 3. SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E. (CHAIR-<br>MAN).                     | 9. MR. J. G. BROOKER.                 |
| 4. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.         | 10. KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH.     |
| 5. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN,<br>M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW. | 11. KHAN BAHADUR G. A. DOSSANI.       |
| 6. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.                                     | 12. KHAN BAHADUR MAHOMED ALI, M.L.A.  |
|   | 13. SAHIBZADA KAZEM ALI MIRZA, M.L.A. |
|   | 14. THE HONORARY EDITOR.              |
|   | 15. THE HONORARY TREASURER.           |
|   | 16. THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.         |
|   | 17. THE HONORARY MANAGER.             |

**Editor "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT" :—**MR. PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A..

**Honorary Treasurer :—**MAJOR H. HOBBS—(21, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA).

**Honorary Secretary :—**MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.

**Honorary Manager :—**MR. NARENDRANATH GANGULY.

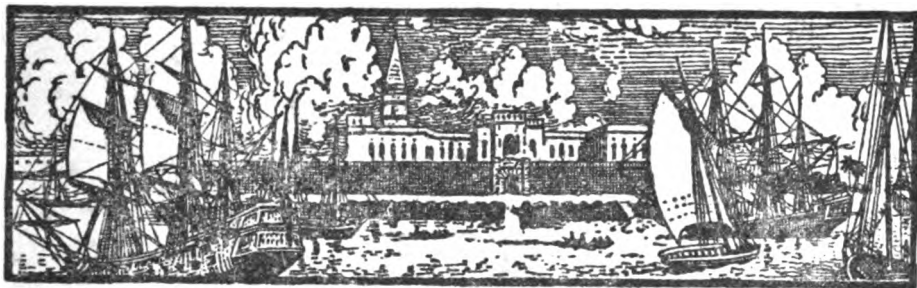
(98/5A, Sir Surendra Banerjee Road, Calcutta).

**Bankers :—**THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED, CALCUTTA.

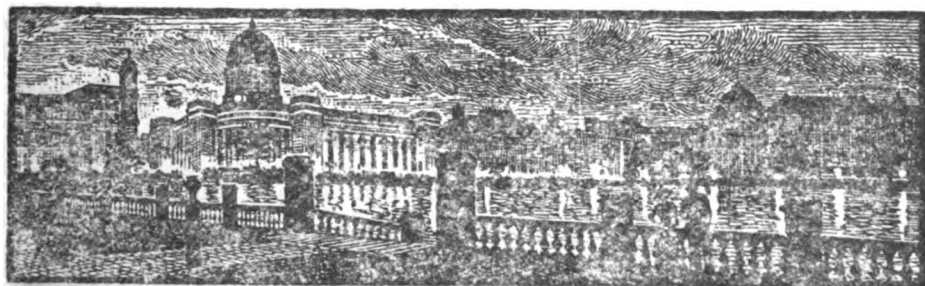
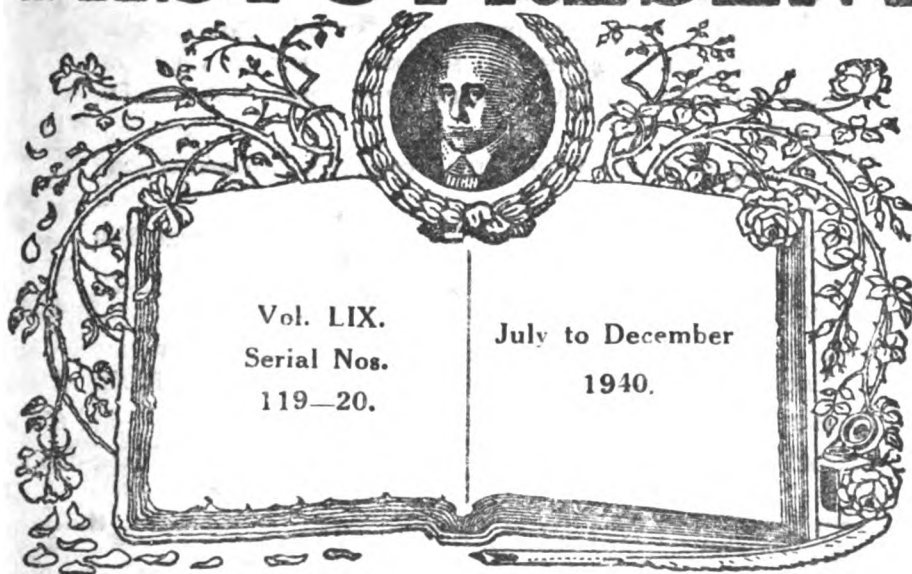
**Auditors :—**MESSRS. LOVELOCK AND LEWES, 4, LYONS RANGE, CALCUTTA.

**Office :—**3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET, CALCUTTA.

**SUBSCRIPTION : Rs. 20 PER ANNUM TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE.**



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



## CONTENTS.

---

### ARTICLES.

	PAGES
I. LOCAL RECORDS—A DELHI EXPERIENCE AND SUGGESTION: BY DR. T. G. P. SPEAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) ... ..	1-5
II. THE COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT AT KRISHNAGAR: BY DR. A. P. DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) ... ..	6-12
III. A FORGOTTEN DISPUTE REGARDING THE RIGHT OF A GOVERNOR TO HOLD THE TITLE OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE COM- PANY'S FORCES: BY DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ... ..	13-16
IV. NAIB NAZIMS OF DACCA DURING THE COMPANY'S ADMINISTRATION: BY S. C. BANERJEE ... ..	17-29
V. MARQUESS WELLESLEY'S POLICY TOWARDS SINDIA IN THE WAR WITH HOLKAR: BY N. B. RAY, M.A. ... ..	30-41
VI. CALCUTTA BARMAIDS: BY MAJOR H. HOBBS, V.D. ... ..	42-53
VII. SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS RELATING TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT PATNA: BY DR. KALI KINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D. ... ..	54-62
VIII. CADETS: BY MAJOR H. HOBBS, V.D. ... ..	65-87
IX. EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK ... ..	88-90

*N.B.*—Articles Nos. I to V read at the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical  
Records Commission held at Calcutta, 1939.

---

## Local Records—A Delhi Experience and Suggestion.

---

A RECENT spell of work on the history and administration of Delhi and its territory in the late 18th and early 19th centuries has suggested the following reflections upon the value of local records for historical purposes, and the place of local histories in the larger history of the country. Local records and history are to their national counterparts what the cells of the body are to the whole organism. From Memoirs, state documents and the private papers of statesmen we learn the main threads of national policy. But it is from local records that we learn of their detailed application, of their effect upon the proper study of all historians, mankind itself. To take one instance, the land revenue policy of the Government of India can easily be ascertained from Government pronouncements, blue books and legislative enactments. But the effect of the policy upon the lives of the people themselves can only be discovered by reference to the local records where the district officer reports the state of the villages with which he has to deal, and the effect of Government measures upon their prosperity. In the early 19th century there is constant repetition by administrators of good revenue intentions ; the note that moderate assessments must be the rule is constantly struck. But only the local records can show how far that drumming note from headquarters found an echo in the countryside. Too often the facts of the latter belied the intentions of the former. In Delhi, Metcalfe, an apostle of moderate assessments, is shown by the local records to have actually increased them at a peculiarly difficult time.

Delhi is a very favourable subject for the local historian because, during most of the period of its pre-Mutiny British administration, it was with its Territory in effect a province of its own. Its Territory was not simply the City and the surrounding country. It stretched from Palwal in the south to the Simla Hills in the north and the Sutlej in the north-west. It included both the fertile districts of Sonapat and Karnal, the Jat country of Rohtak, and the wide plains of Newat and Hissar, where lions still roamed. The Resident until 1835 enjoyed exceptional powers and had no superior save the Governor-General. The exemption of Delhi from the Regulations still further added to his freedom. His position was something like that of the Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province before the Reforms.

Delhi has also its peculiar difficulties for the local historian. This is the result of the Mutiny, which involved the destruction of the major part of the

Government records, of all the surviving Mogul records, and of an unknown quantity of private family papers.

We may now sum up the authorities which have been used, in the hope that when allowances have been made for local peculiarities, the experiences here noted may provide hints for investigators in other localities. There are first the local official records themselves. The greater part of these have been destroyed, as already noticed. Those that survive, known as the Delhi Residency Records, are preserved in the Record Office of the Punjab Government at Lahore. They are mainly political, and contain much material for the study of the relations of the British with the last Mogul emperors. In addition there are the records of the Ludhiana Agency, which deal with Sikh affairs, the hill-states, and the Gurkha wars. The historian of the Simla Hills or of the Gurkha wars will find much valuable material there. The administrative records are missing and with them has gone much valuable material from the pens of Ochterlony, the Metcalfes and others. Some compensation for this is to be found in the district records of Karnal, Panipat, Ambala, etc. So far as I know, these have been studied by no historian. The authors of the Delhi Settlement Report dipped into some of these records, and their excerpts from them are of such value as to suggest that their further study would be well worth while. In days when the importance of records for historical purposes is so widely recognised, and when district officers are so generally enlightened, it ought not be difficult to obtain access to these local record offices.

After the local records come the voluminous Government of India records, now with the exception of the Judicial Consultations, stored in the Public Record Office in New Delhi. Search in these records for matters of local interest is often laborious, but the labour is eased by the indices provided for each year. Here the main lines of Government policy as affecting a particular locality can be discovered, and the reactions of the local officers to that policy. Any local issue of unusual importance will find an echo in these records, and will sometimes be fully dealt with. In the case of Delhi the main lines of the Government's policy towards the Moguls are to be found in the Despatches of the Court to the Supreme Government. Certain important matters affecting the peculiar administrative conditions of the Delhi Territory are to be found in the Consultations. The whole dossier of the Colebrooke case is to be found in the Political Consultations. With patience and ingenuity, the wider bearings of local issues, and the local consequences of wider decisions, can both be learnt from the central Government records.

The records preserved in the India Office cannot be omitted from such a survey as this. Though the actual Government records are the same, there are in addition many other papers which make reference to the India Office Library essential and fruitful. To mention only two, there is the series of European Manuscripts and the Home Miscellaneous Series. From the former the legend of Bentinck's proposal to abolish the Taj had its origin (1). The

---

(1) General Murcus Beresford's Journal of a Residence in India from 1836.



huge collection known as the Home Miscellaneous Series, running to over 700 volumes, is a mine filled with the most varied ore. Some of the volumes consist of excerpts from the Records collected for the convenience of the Home authorities when some particular subject was under consideration. Several volumes are devoted to Delhi Affairs in this way. These excerpts are remarkably convenient to the student, but copyist's errors are frequent, and they should be treated with some caution unless the records are clearly transcribed *in extenso*. Some volumes contain stray collections of letters and these are often of service to the biographer. Most of the Delhi characters, like Ochterlony, William Fraser and the Metcalfes are represented in this way. Then there are the collections of private papers which make the Series indispensable.

After the official records must be noted the private papers of individuals with local experience. In the case of 19th century Delhi these are naturally mainly English. Many collections of private papers have been given to public institutions and are accessible to the student. The most important places in this connection are the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the India Office Library. But many more are still in private hands up and down the country. Some of their owners do not realise their value, and much must have perished from this cause. A large proportion of the valuable Metcalfe papers were lost in this way.

The difficulty in this connection is greatest precisely with the men whose local knowledge we should like to tap. The greater figures—Governor-General's members of Council or Generals—had usually families who realised the importance of their papers, and either handed them over to the nation or preserved them carefully themselves. The Ellenborough papers are an example of the former and the Bentinck Papers of the latter. These papers only serve for local matters when the author happened to spend his youth in the country. Even then he often in later life destroyed or lost his early papers, as in the case of Sir Charles Trevelyan. The lesser men, or the men who spent their lives in lesser positions, have usually kept their papers to themselves, and it is these which are full of the local knowledge we need. In the case of Delhi the Kaye Papers in the India Office are invaluable for the Mutiny. The surviving Metcalfe and Trevelyan papers have proved most valuable ; but there are others of equal importance, like the Ochterlony papers, which are not accessible. But what of the Frasers and the Gubbins? Many of these men were of great ability ; William Fraser in particular, was only debarred from high preferment by a certain angularity of character. Their papers, if they survive, would be of immense value for local history, yet even their descendants are not easy to trace. What is said here applies with equal or greater force to other districts of India, for Delhi had a lion's share of personalities who rose to high position and were therefore more likely to have their papers publicly or privately preserved.

From records and private papers we pass to memoirs and books of travel. India was rich in books of this sort in the early 19th century. The interior was then largely unknown, and at the same time newly opened up.

Men felt a zest in travelling for the first time through a country about which they had heard so much in history and story and knew so little. And there was always the mysterious north-west beyond, guarded by the one-eyed warrior of the Punjab, to stimulate the imagination and arouse the spirit of adventure. In England too, there was an eager interest in such things which enabled these books to be printed and reprinted. So the works of Heber, Jacquemment, von Hugel, Hoffmeister, Fanny Parks and Emily Eden, to mention a few travellers within British India only, have all something of value for the historian. Emily Eden, apart from a brilliant portrait of Ranjit Singh, confined herself mainly to English social life. Jacquemment is the most witty, but Heber overtops them all by the breadth of his knowledge, the range and accuracy of his observation, his understanding imagination and the force of his style. Delhi, as the Mogal capital and the British frontier station, was an inevitable port of call for these travellers, and each contributed their quota. Heber described the Court of Akbar II and Emma Roberts, an otherwise obscure writer, gave a vivid picture of the city of Delhi in the thirties of the last century. The imitators of the greater travel journalists were legion, and while their works are very generally dull, they often contain information of value.

Lastly come the printed workers based upon primary sources. The most useful of this class are biographies such as Bosworth Smith's *Life of John Lawrence*, Kaye's *Lives* and Edward Thompson's new life of Charles Metcalfe. Sometimes the early (and locally valuable) years are passed over in haste. But this is not always the case and then they are often valuable. Mr. Thompson for example, gives a vivid picture of conditions round Delhi during Metcalfe's early years.

There is one source which I have kept to the last, because I want to emphasise its value and importance. It is the Indian counterpart of the private papers of English officials. All over India are lying, often neglected and forgotten, the papers of men who occupied prominent positions before the British, at the time of their arrival, or under them afterwards. Old families are notoriously chary of revealing their secrets, but that traditional objection should apply much less to the 19th century than to earlier days, when documents affecting property and landed rights are in question. How valuable, for example, would be the papers of some of Metcalfe's, Indian assistants; how intriguing those of the Palace officials. The Mutiny diaries collected by Kaye, and the two accounts published by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe(2) show what a rich mine is here awaiting exploitation.

The task of unearthing these papers is the proper work of the Indian historian, as the task of discovering the papers of English officials is that of his English brother. In order to gain access to these papers there must first be the knowledge of their existence. This comes easily and naturally to men with local knowledge and connections. Next the traditional suspicion of every enquiry into the past must be overcome. Based as it often is, upon

---

(2) Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny.

the vague fear that such an enquiry foreshadows official interference, this suspicion can usually be much more easily dissipated by the local man than by a foreigner, however amiable he may be. When access to the papers has been obtained, there remains the sorting, the transcription of important passages, and the reporting of the results. It may be suggested at this point that as the Public Records Commission would be the proper authority to which to report, the Imperial Record Office would be the proper place where such papers might be deposited.

Here is eminently an opportunity for co-operation between the Record Offices throughout the country and the historians. If historians would search out such papers in their various localities, and the Record Offices would undertake to preserve such papers as were historically valuable, each would encourage the other, and progress would be rapid. Many families who dislike the idea of some stranger prying into their papers for no very obvious purpose, would modify their attitude if they realised that the examination was of public benefit. The storing of valuable papers in a record office would be a public recognition which would go far to sooth that very real, if not always very reasonable thing, family pride. The working out of such a scheme must depend not only upon the goodwill of the Record authorities and the zeal of historians, but on the co-operation of colleges and universities, to which the historians are attached.

In conclusion, one word may be said on the value of such local investigations. The supreme value, to my mind of local records, lies not in their contribution to the political chronicle of the country, but in the light they throw upon the actual social and economic condition of the people. Economic and social history are both gravely handicapped by the lack of such knowledge. We are more and more realising that the proper study of the historian is the whole field of man's activities, his whole organic social life. But in India we have hardly yet emerged from the political and economic conceptions of History. This is not by any means the sole fault of the historians ; it is in large part due to the lack of the requisite material. It is by the study of local record and the discovery of local private papers, that this gap in material may be filled, and this omission in Indian historical studies be rectified.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

---

## The Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar

---

**BY** the middle of 1771 the eyes of the Directors were opened to the sad state to which the dewany provinces had been reduced particularly when compared with the ceded districts which were under the direct administration of the Company. The Directors were convinced that they must give up the dual system and assume full responsibility for the administration of the provinces for which the Company stood in the position of dewan. On the 28th August, 1771, the Court of Directors signed the famous despatch in which they ordered the Governor and Council of Bengal "to stand forth as dewan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." Cartier was recalled and Warren Hastings was appointed as Governor of Bengal to inaugurate the change and introduce a new system. How the new policy was to be given effect to was not mentioned by the Directors who left the planning out of the new system entirely to the men on the spot. The despatch reached Calcutta on the 14th April, 1772, the day after Hastings assumed office as Governor. Exactly a month later, on the 14th May, 1772, the Governor and Council of Bengal came to a decision as to the "Constitutional groundwork of all their subsequent proceedings". It was settled that the lands were to be let out to revenue farmers for a period of five years. A committee of Circuit consisting of the Governor and four members of the Council was to be appointed to visit the principal districts and form the settlement. The Supervisors were to be designated Collectors. In each district an Indian Officer called the diwan was to be appointed to assist and check the Collector.

It is not proposed to discuss here whether the decision to form the revenues was a wise one or whether the five years' settlement was a success. It is only proposed to describe the work done by the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and to bring to light the economic data about the district which may be gleaned from the proceedings of the Committee at Krishnagar.

When the Committee commenced its proceedings at Krishnagar on the 10th June, 1772, Mr. Jacob Rider, Collector of Nadia, laid before them a hustabood or a detailed statement of the revenues of the district.(1) Rider had a long acquaintance with Bengal. He had joined the Company's service in 1763 and in 1764 had been appointed Supervisor of Nadia. He was thus, in 1772, ten years in the service of the Company and nearly four years in Nadia. He claimed that the statements submitted by him were as

---

(1) Proc. of the Com. of Circuit at Krishnagar, Vol. I.—Pub. by the Govt. of Bengal 1926, p. 2ff.

authentic as any that had up to then been published about the revenue of the district. He pointed out that the actual collections fell somewhat short of those statements as the district was considerably depopulated by the famine of 1770. In order however that the revenue might not suffer too heavily he had instituted enquiries which had yielded information that lands had been taken possession of indiscriminately and without authority by ryots of almost every denomination at the commencement of cultivation. This was possible because of the large tracts of waste land in the district. ". . . those ryots who are vigilant enough to get their crops off the ground before the Potwerry has taken cognizance of their labour, escape for ever sole (sic) free, and those whose lot it is to come within the search of these lesser mofussel collectors, have always contrived by a composition with them to keep this branch of revenue a profound secret from Government." Mr. Rider had imposed rents for these lands. He had also subjected those ryots who had cultivated lands that had become vacant by the mortality of 1770 to the same payments as the original cultivators would have been liable to had they survived the famine.(2) All this had led to dissatisfaction among the ryots and Mr. Rider was afraid that the peasants might desert, for as a consequence of the famine ryots were fewer and lands were plenty. Besides desertion was being encouraged by the practice of allowing migrating ryots to possess lands at a rate 4 annas to 8 annas less per bigha than what was paid by the fixed inhabitant.(3) Mr. Rider, therefore, requested the Committee to consider whether the ryots could not be relieved of this back rent. He pointed out that the cultivator actually tilled half the land for which he had a pattah. The poverty of the soil rendered it necessary for a cultivator who could till ten bighas to possess twenty bighas, "the land not yielding for more than three years he makes use of these twenty begers alternately, half for three years the other the while laying waste tho' fattening for its cussession to the place.(4) He was of opinion that "as things are circumstanced . . . . the present mode of sale appears to be the most eligible method of exploring and establishing the present value of the lands."(5)

The "hustabood" submitted by Mr. Rider showed the district of Nadia divided into 50 parganas yielding the total revenue of S. R. 12,66,266.(6) Seventy-eight ghats are mentioned in the district and the traffic passing the ghats brought in S. R. 44,250.(7) The 145 hats of the district yielded S. R. 30,127.(8) Taxes at the hats were levied on bullocks passing and repassing the hat with grains, etc. (Chalanta), on "ryots that reside in the market", and on people who brought various articles to sell at the bazar

---

(2) Op. cit. p. 3.

(3) Op. cit. p. 5.

(4) Op. cit. p. 3.

(5) Op. cit. p. 5.

(6) Statements I & VI op. cit. pp. 6 & 9.

(7) Statement No. 4, op. cit. p. 8.

(8) Statement No. 5, op. cit. p. 8.

day. Another big article of the *sair jama* was the custom on marriages which yielded S. R. 33,183. The total of the *sair jama* of the district was S. R. 1,23,660.(9)

The Committee recorded their opinion that it appeared that the "hustabood" was continued at the same amount at which it had stood previous to the famine, and that a collection on this basis would prove oppressive to the ryots and prejudicial to government in the end. There should consequently be a considerable diminution of the amount in the current year's settlement.(10)

The Committee were of opinion that encouragement should be given to the ryots for the cultivation of waste lands. Ryots desiring to cultivate waste lands should apply to the farmers who should grant pattahs specifying the amount of land and the rent which the ryot had agreed to pay for it. But if the ryot should cultivate such lands without sanction, he would be liable to pay according to the usage of the part of the country in which the land lay.(11)

The Committee realised that the tax on marriage was iniquitous. They calculated to show that together with the tax levied by government and the fees paid to the Kazis and the priests who officiated at the marriage, the total of fees paid on each marriage amounted at least to six rupees. Apart from the oppressive mode in which these dues were exacted, they tended to discourage population which was of primary importance after the famine. The Committee resolved that "all the fees and taxes of this article" should be abolished.(12)

Taxes under the head "*Bazee Jama*" had already been abolished in 1771 by order of the Council of Revenue. The Committee confirmed this and resolved that farmers should not make any demands on this account from the ryots.(13)

In the district there were 41 zemindary offices for making the collections, each office costing on the average Rs. 200 to maintain.(14) These were not only costly, but so many engines of oppression. The Council had already resolved to abolish the Zemindary *Chaukies*. The Committee now ordered the immediate abolition of those in the district of Nadia. "All the officers of the collections both on the part of government and the Zemindar" were to be recalled from the farmed lands and the farmers were to pay their rents direct to the "*Sudder Cutchery*". The Collecting Officers were also recalled from the Khas lands and their wages abolished.(15) Since the "*Huddes Serinjamy*" or the charges of collections were abolished, the

---

(9) Statement No. 3, op. cit. p. 7.

(10) Op. cit. p. 12.

(11) Op. cit. pp. 12-13.

(12) Op. cit. p. 13.

(13) Op. cit. p. 13.

(14) Statement No. 8—op. cit. pp. 10-11.

(15) Op. cit. p. 13.

farmers were allowed a commission of 5% on their jama for the expenses of collection.(16)

On the 12th June, 1772, the proposals that had come in for farming the lands were considered.(17) The proposers claimed a deduction of 2 lakhs 10 thousand rupees, from the "hustabood" of the previous year. This was in the opinion of the Committee a sum far exceeding the real loss to the revenues caused by the famine. The Committee therefore resolved that "they be not accepted, and that in order to ascertain the true value of the lands in their present state the terms be put up to public auction."(18) The following abstract of the jama of the district together with an estimate of the "jama" of each pargana was published at the "cutchery" for the information of the bidders.(19)

Hustabood of 1178 ...	...	...	...	...	12,66,266
Deductions—					
Bazee Jama & Halldaree ...	...	...	33,183	5 0	
Ghats abolished ...	...	...	44,250	12 0	
Cossa Dalali ...	...	...	1,081	4 0	
(Duty paid by cloth brokers to move in that occupation) Birtee ...	...	...	1,741	4 0	
			<hr/>		
(Free gift of hat merchants)	Total deductions		80,256	9 0	
			<hr/>		11,86,010
Increase ...	...	...	...	...	15,961
(On account of exemptions being abolished.)					
			<hr/>		
Hall Jama ...			...	...	12,01,971
			<hr/>		

The Committee was willing to settle with existing zemindars and talukdars where possible. The talukdars of Bhowanipur, Jaipur, Deranny, Sultanpur and Aujerah represented that they had always paid the revenues of their taluks immediately to government and that if their lands passed into the hands of farmers their rights as talukdars would be infringed and they would be subjected to many hardships and inconveniences, and that they were willing to agree to settlements which the Committee should think proper. The Committee resolved that their taluks should be exempted from the public sale and that a "hustabood" should be immediately prepared according to which the revenues were to be settled.(20)

(16) Op. cit. p. 14.

(17) Op. cit. p. 14.

(18) Op. cit. pp. 15-16.

(19) Op. cit. p. 16.

(20) Op. cit. p. 19.

The Committee however could not agree to the proposals of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bahadur of Nadia. On the fourth day of the public auction the Maharaja laid his proposals before the Committee for the "bundobast" of the parganas of Nadia. Exclusive of "Saranjamy" expenses he proposed to pay 8,25,001 for the Bengali year 1179, rising to 9,25,001 for the year 1183. The Committee resolved that as they expected a larger sum from the public auction that was then going on and as the faith of the government had been pledged to the farmers who had already been given leases by being the highest bidders at the public auction, the proposals of the Maharaja could not be accepted.(21) An annual allowance of 2 lakhs was settled on him as compensation.(22)

After ten days' auction the settlement of the lands was finally concluded and the leases executed by the farmers and the government.(23)

The amalnamas or the leases that were now given to the farmers had been drawn up afresh.(24) The terms of the lease show the anxiety of the Committee for the protection of the ryots from undue exaction, and the encouragement of cultivation. Farmers were not to demand more from the ryots than had been fixed. They were not to levy any fresh tax or receive nazar or selamy. The lease ran, "should it be known that you exact more, you will not only have to repay the ryots, the su(m) which you have so exacted but also to make a proportional forfeit to government and if it is represented that you a second time ar(e) guilty of any oppression on the ryots your farm shall then be made khas and you shall pay a fine to government".(25) Moreover government officers were appointed to act as checks on clandestine collections by farmers.(26) Losses to the revenue due to draught or desertion were to be borne by the farmers. "On the other hand," ran the lease, "if by promoting cultivation and agriculture you can by any legal means reap any advantage from your farm you have nothing to pay to government exclusive of the malgauzary that advantage will be your own".(27) The farmers were enjoined to give "information of hidd(en) wealth or of effects es(c)heatable to government . . . . as well as of all murders thefts and robberies, which may be committed" and to "make a timely report of everything that may occur" within the limits of each division(28).

As in the case of farmers, the old leases were torn up and fresh forms of pattahs were prepared for the ryots(29).

---

(21) Op. cit. pp. 19-20.

(22) Op. cit. pp. 23 & 25.

(23) Op. cit. p. 20.

(24) Op. cit. pp. 16-18.

(25) Article 11, op. cit. p. 17.

(26) Article 16, op. cit. p. 17.

(27) Article 18, op. cit. p. 18.

(28) Articles 5 & 68, op. cit. p. 17.

(29) Op. cit. p. 18-19.



Lala Dher Singh Roy was appointed dewan of the district of Nadia. Elaborate instructions were issued to him for his guidance(30). In conjunction with the collector he was to collect the Kists and remit them to the Sadar, and also to keep a separate account of the collections(31). No sepoy or peon was to be sent by the collector or the dewan into the district "except when the powers of the farmers is insufficient to enforce justice or maintain the peace of the country: in which one person may be sent with a writing under the Company's seal and (signed) by the Collector and yourself. And all circumstances (in) which people have been so sent, you are to register in the awdawlet proceedings. Whenever it is requisite that any person should be sent for ; it must be done through the ijaradar by sending the Tullub Chitty to him requiring him to send the person wanted to you"(32). It was laid down that "the mutsuddies or servants of the Collector nor any of their relatives or servants are by no means whatever (to) hold a farm nor to be concerned with the farmer either as his security or otherwise." Similarly no European was to hold a farm in his own name or in the name of another(33). No one in any way connected with the revenue as to lend money to any of the Zemindars, talukdars, ijaradars or ryots, and Zemindars, talukdars and farmers were not to lend money to the ryots. For the purpose of cultivation "tucavy" was to be advanced to the ryots at the rate of Rs. 2 per cent per month interest. The money was to be recoverd in specie and not in kind(34).

On the 28th June the work of the Committee at Krishnagar was finished. The total jama for the district settled by the Committee was 10,64,530 for the first year rising to 13,19,695 for the fifth year. It will be observed that the jama fixed for the first year was 2 lakhs less than Rider's hustabood and 1½ lakhs less than the figures published at the Cutchery. Where talukdars had come forward to enter into agreement with the government without concealing the revenue, the idea of farming out had been abandoned and settlement had been made with them. Several vexatious abwabs had been abolished and the farmers' leases and instructions to the dewan(35) showed such solicitude for the ryots as to constitute under existing circumstances a veritable Magna Charta for the cultivators.

The hordes of revenue officials who preyed upon the cultivators were recalled from the parganna and it seemed that a more hopeful era had dawned for the ryots. But it was one thing to lay down a rule and quite another thing to have it properly enforced. This was seen within a few days, for on the 9th July the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar received

---

(30) Op. cit. pp. 20-22.

(31) Article 2 op. cit. p. 20.

(32) Article 4 op. cit. p. 21.

(33) Article 11 op. cit. p. 21.

(34) Article 12 op. cit. p. 21.

(35) These were on the lines of the resolutions passed by the Calcutta Committee of Revenue on the 14th May, 1772.

complaints from Mr. Rider against the Amin, Ramjoy Singh "who does everything in his power to confuse and perplex the New Dewan and to render the business of the cutchery as unintelligible as possible" and "who notwithstanding you took so much pains and trouble to form a ryots doul pattah and Kistoobundy, yet the second day after you left this they all came in a body complaining that he was making out their Kistoobundy's greatly beyond what the Committee had given them reasons to expect." The Committee ordered Ramjoy Singh to be dismissed and authorised Mr. Rider and the dewan to appoint a new amin in his place (36).

A. P. DAS GUPTA.

---

## A Forgotten Dispute regarding the Right of a Governor to hold the Title of the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces.

---

VERELST'S administration in Bengal (1767-9) has so far been almost totally neglected by historians. In the course of my researches into the history of his Governorship, I have come across in the Ms. Records of the Government of India interesting details regarding an obscure, but highly important dispute between Governor Verelst and Col. Richard Smith, the Commanding Officer in Bengal, regarding their respective claims to the title and privileges of the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency forces. Verelst's dispute with Col. Smith is of importance because of the constitutional issues involved therein.

Verelst was of the opinion that the Governor being the supreme head of the civil as well as military establishments, was, by virtue of his very office, the Commander-in-Chief. In support of this, he urged that the Directors had already laid down in one of their recent letters, (1) "..... our Governor shall be considered as Commander-in-Chief of our forces". While disputing the legality of Col. Smith's action (2) in summoning court-martial on his own authority, Verelst claimed (3) that it was the Governor who should be regarded as the Supreme Magistrate in all military as well as civil affairs, and that "no servants upon this establishment should tread closer upon the heels of a governor than is expressly authorized by the Court of Directors". Col. Smith was accordingly warned (4) by the Select Committee that to dispute with the Governor a power which he and his predecessors had hitherto enjoyed would be considered as "an attempt to retrench his prerogative and diminish the influence of his station without reason, without necessity, and to the subversion of all order".

It appears that after considerable discussion in two different meetings of the Select Committee held shortly after Verelst's assumption of office, it had been informally agreed (5) that the Governor was to be regarded as the

---

(1) Letter from Court, February 19, 1766.

(2) Beng. Sel. Com. October 3, 1767.

Letter from Col. R. Smith, September 16, 1767.

(3) Beng. Sel. Com. October 13, 1767.

(4) Letter to Col. R. Smith, October 13, 1767.

(5) *Vide* Verelst's minute, July 18, 1768.

Commander-in-Chief, and that Col. Smith was to be called Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. Col. Smith had assented to this arrangement, and it was at his request (6) that the matter had not been recorded in the minutes. This peculiar compromise was thus humorously described by Mr. Richard Barwell in a letter to his father (7), "The Title of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengal is esteemed a jewel in the cap of your Governor's as such Mr. V——t was for having the Colonel omit the word "Chief" in the orders he might issue, whilst the Colonel pointed out the absurdity..... This difference of sentiment between the great men was very near productive of an open quarrel, when Mr. V——t bethought him an expedient to which the Colonel acquiesced ; and he is now Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. This ridiculous circumstances has nevertheless created an animosity".

It may be stated here that the Governor's complaint attitude and want of firmness in this matter was strongly criticised by Clive who wrote (8) to Verelst from England, "His (Colonel Smith's) last, I should say his first dispute, whether the Governor or the Commanding Officer of the troops ought to have the title of Commander-in-Chief was such an open and audacious attack upon the dignity of your office, that I am surprized you let it pass unnoticed. Had a minute been made of it, he would infallibly have been dismissed the service".

The compromise was, however, no more than a temporary and verbal understanding, and no attempt was subsequently made to define and demarcate the powers and jurisdiction of the Governor and the so-called Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. The controversy became acute in April, 1768, when Col. Smith returned to Calcutta and resumed his membership of the Select Committee.

In the Select Committee meeting (9) of the 27th of April, Col. Smith raised the question as to whether the Governor could send "of himself, at all times, and at all occasions, whatever orders he shall judge necessary to Colonel Smith, or to the Commanding Officer of the Army". Mr. Floyer submitted that the Governor had the right to issue orders in all ordinary matters "under the control of the Select Committee", but that orders "with regard to the march of the army or of a considerable detachment, the engaging in any enterprize of warlike preparations, and the entering into treaties" could be issued by the Select Committee alone. Messrs. Verelst, Cartier, and Becher admitted that in all major matters such as war, treaty or peace the Select Committee alone had the right to issue final orders, but they maintained that the Governor ought to be deemed to be the Commander-in-Chief and that, as such, he did possess the authority to issue orders to all commanding officers, including Col. Smith.

(6) *Vide* Statement and examination of Mr. C. Russell, July 19, 1768.

(7) Letter from Mr. R. Barwell to his father, December 9, 1767.

(8) Letter from Lord Clive, November 7, 1767.

(9) Beng. Sel. Com. April 27, 1768.

The discussion over this question was resumed on the 19th of July (10). Col. Smith presented his own minute on the subject, and in reply to the opinions of the other members, he asserted that the Governor's powers were strictly limited, and that the Select Committee could not invest him with the authority to claim implicit obedience from the commanding officers. He criticized the views of his colleagues as much too vague, and demanded a clear decision on the point under dispute, for, as he rightly pointed out, "in points of military subordination there ought not to be left the smallest room for doubt".

The Governor thereupon emphatically repudiated "the unmerited censure on the Committee" as well as "the reflection" on his own conduct, as expressed in Col. Smith's minute, and asserted that the Commanding Officer was "struggling to shake off the strongest bond by which he is subjected to the Civil authority". He closed his long statement on Col. Smith's minute with the challenge, "My determined resolution is to give up the title and authority of Commander-in-Chief at the same time that I quit the reins of government".

After the Governor's statement was read, Messrs. Floyer, Becher, and Cartier submitted their respective minutes unanimously supporting the Governor's claim to hold the title of Commander-in-Chief. They held that Col. Smith, being the second officer, was bound to obey all such orders from the Governor as the latter by virtue of his station as Commander-in-Chief might issue with the concurrence of the Select Committee.

The discussion being over, the Select Committee decided finally to confirm the Governor's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and resolved that all orders issued by him within the limitation prescribed by them should be implicitly obeyed as the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The Select Committee also invested the Governor with powers to issue such general orders as might be deemed by him necessary and proper for the better regulation of the army, to order detachments, to direct their operations during the course of their services, to appoint subaltern officers, and to correspond with the several commanding officers in the army, wherever they might be stationed. It was, however, agreed that the Governor should remain responsible to the Select Committee, to whom he was at all times to make known the orders he might issue, and that their orders, whenever they might think proper to issue any, should supersede any sent by him alone.

After this resolution was passed, Col. Smith raised the next question as to whether the Governor could on any occasion take command of the army in person. After Messrs. Floyer, Becher and Cartier had expressed their opinions on this question the Select Committee unanimously agreed that upon all occasions the Governor was "to be received at the army, or in the

---

(10) Beng. Sel. Com. July 18, 1768.  
Letter to Court, September 13, 1768.

garrisons, with all honours due to a commander-in-Chief", but that he could not "take upon himself in person the command of the army, or any part of it." Thus, a long drawn out and seemingly futile dispute was brought to an end to the apparent satisfaction of the parties concerned.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.

---

## Naib Nazims of Dacca during the Company's administration.

---

**D**ACCA was the seat of the Nizamat or Capital of Bengal for about a century from the time of Emperor Jehangir. After Suba Singh's insurrections in Burdwan in 1694 A.D. the Emperor

Origin of the Office. Aurungzeb appointed his grandson Prince Azim-u-shan to be Nazim of Bengal and, with a view to increasing the revenue, bestowed the Diwani upon Murshid-Kuli Khan. This official disbanded the royal household cavalry and resumed the Jagirs assigned for their support. This and other measures of retrenchment were most distasteful to Prince Azim-u-shan who strongly objected to the control thus exercised over the State expenditure. He, therefore, organized a conspiracy with a view to making an end of the Diwan. The plot failed owing to the boldness of Murshid Kuli Khan who forced his way through the soldiers that had been engaged to murder him. Then he accused Prince Azim-u-shan of treachery and challenged him to single combat which the Prince declined. The Diwan sent an account of this incident to the Emperor and, considering himself no longer safe at Dacca, proceeded to Murshidabad where he took up his residence. In consequence of this affair Prince Azim-u-shan was ordered to remove to Behar at once. No one having been nominated his successor in Bengal he left the Government to his son Feroksher. Subsequently Murshid Kuli Khan was appointed Nazim by the Emperor Aurangzeb but he was not formally recognised till Feroksher finally left Bengal for the Imperial Throne in 1704. From this time Dacca ceased to be the seat of the Nizamat and the eastern districts were made over to a Naib or Deputy of the Nazim.

This Neabat or Government extended from the Garrow Hills on the north to the Sunderbans on the south and from the Jurisdiction of Dacca Tipperah hills on the east to Jessore on the west. Neabat.

The city of Dacca was 14 miles in length and 7 miles in breadth and its boundaries were "Tangi (1) Jamalpur on the North, Buri Ganga river on the south, Dappa Fultala on the east and Miapur Seddi on the west".

The Neabat of Dacca was considered the highest and most lucrative appointment under the Nizamat, consequently subsequent Naibs were generally near relations of the Nazims and as such they resided for the most part at Murshidabad the Government of Dacca being administered by Deputies.

When the army of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah captured Calcutta in June 1756 from the East India Co., an order was sent to Nawab Aga Bakr Jessarut Khan, who was then Faujdar or Governor of Dacca, that the English Factory at that place should be seized and all the Company's servants thrown into prison. The English Company at Dacca at that time consisted of "Mr. Richard Beacher as Chief of the Factory, Mr. William Summer, Second in Council (who was in Calcutta at the time), Messrs. Luke Scrofton, Thomas Hyndman, Samuel Walter, John Cartier and John Johnston. Lieut. John Cudmore was in charge of the garrison and Nathaniel Wilson was the Company's Surgeon. There were three English ladies, viz., Mrs. Beacher, wife of the Chief of the Factory with her child, Mrs. Warwick and Miss Harding. The garrison under Lieut. Cudmore consisted of only 4 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 19 European soldiers, 34 black Christians and 60 Buxerries (Portuguese half-castes)." When the news reached Dacca the English Council there, being conscious of their helpless position against the overwhelming forces of the Nawab determined to approach M. Courtin, Chief of the French Factory there, for help. The French proved true friends to their rivals in the hour of need and they being on good terms with Nawab Jessarut Khan, M. Courtin induced him to refrain from taking any active measures against the English and at the same time obtained permission for them all to take refuge in the French Factory, M. Courtin himself standing security for them that they would remain peacefully there awaiting the orders of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah. Jessarut Khan allowed the English to escape at his own risk knowing full well that by this act he might incur the displeasure of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah; he, however, seized all the Company's property to the value of about Rs. 14,00,000 and refused to allow them to take anything of value with them except the clothes they were actually wearing.

The English were not unmindful of the services rendered to them by Nawab Jessarut Khan in their days of distress. When fortune turned in their favour after the battle of Plassy and the British power was established in Bengal "Nawab Jessarut Khan (2) obtained the office of the Naib Nazim of Jehangirnagar (Dacca) during Jafar Ali Khan's administration through the influence of the Calcutta Government (British)". Though original resolutions regarding his appointment are not traceable, it appears from W. Hasting's Minute dated the 16th June 1778 that Nawab Jessarut Khan obtained the office "as (3) a grateful return for the humanity which he showed to the Factory at Dacca in the time of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah".

The duties attached to the office of the Naib Nazim as defined in the Duties of Naib Nazim. Sanad granted to the Nawab were as follows:—

"To conduct generally the administration of the affairs of the districts placed under his jurisdiction, to chastise the turbulent and

(2) Terrl. Dept. Progs. 12 September 1822, No. 7.

(3) Revenue Dept. Progs. 16 June 1778, No. 2.



rebellious, to protect the weak and the Malgoozars, to administer justice to complaints according to Mahomedan Law, to prevent Ironsmiths from making match locks, to be cautious that no one should sell to ill disposed persons lead, powder or any implements of war, to exert himself in collecting the revenues of the mahals under his charge, and to pay regularly the public revenue into the Treasury according to the instalments, to disburse no part of the Public revenue without a sufficient warrant, to maintain the establishment of war and State boats, etc. (Nowareh) on an efficient footing, etc"(4).

Nawab Jessarut Khan was a noble man of irreproachable character and the people held him in high respect. It is stated in "Sair-ul-Muktakherin" that Nawab Miran repeatedly wrote to him to put to death Ghasity Begum and Amina Begum, two daughters of Nawab Aliverdi Khan, but he declined the odious task and replied that "a successor might be sent him in the Government of the Province and he wished to be excused from executing such orders".

On 3rd June 1778 Nawab Jessarut Khan represented to the Governor General in Council "As(5) I am now in a very advanced age, I am desirous of relinquishing all worldly concerns and of devoting the remainder of my days to the service of God in the performance of religious duties ; but as this cannot be effected without a composed and settled mind, to your favour I look to place me in such a situation that I may with peace of mind devote myself to God. I, therefore, now make my last request"—"It is that my eldest son Sayid Mahomed Khan, who has been brought up and educated as a child of the Company who is prudent, possessed of talents for business and warmly attached to the Company and English Chiefs and earnestly desirous of being employed in their service, which by the blessing of God he will execute much better than I can having last year given a proof of it in his last year's skilful management of the Nizamat Business as my Naib, may be appointed to succeed me in the Nizamat of Jeehangirnagore with the same stipend and Kissala which I enjoy. That a sunud and Khelat may be granted to him by the Council for this office".

The Governor General W. Hastings remarked on the representation "Jessarut(6) Khan owes his present appointment to the influence of the Government of Calcutta as a grateful return for the humanity which he shewed to the factory at Dacca in the time of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah. He is now loaded with the infirmities of age and is unable to execute the duties of his office. He has ever borne an irreproachable character, is much respected by the people and his son has been favourably reported to me" and he proposed that a letter be written to the Nawab (with whom investiture then rested) requesting the grant of a sanad to the son of Jessarut Khan

(4) Terr. Dept. 12 September 1822, No. 7.

(5) Revenue Department Proceedings, 16 June 1778, No. 2.

(6) Revenue Department Proceedings, 16 June 1778, No. 3.

and the following letter was accordingly written to the Resident at the Durbar on 16th June 1778. "Jessarut(7) Khan the Naib of Dacca having requested that he may be allowed to resign his office in favour of his son Sayid Mahomed Khan, we desire you to inform the Nawab thereof and to request that he will send us a Sunnud of investiture for Sayid Mahomed Khan

Nawab Sayid Mohomed  
Khan Hushmat Jung 1778-  
1785.

whom we recommend to him for the succession to the office of Naib of Dacca". A sanad was accordingly granted and Sayid Mahomed Khan succeeded Nawab Jessarut Khan in 1778.

Though it appears from the above that Sayid Mahomed Khan was the son of Nawab Jessarut Khan he was in fact not the son but a grandson as will be evident from the following extract from a letter dated 15th August 1822 from A. Sterling, Persian Secretary:—

"Jessarut(8) Khan left a daughter, married to Mir Moortiza, who had offspring three male children, viz., Sayid Mahomed Khan Hushmut Jang, Sayid Ali Khan Nusrat Jang and Shums-ood-Dowleh Zoolficar Jung. The same influence of the English Government procured from the Nazim of Bengal with whom the right of investiture then rested, the succession of the eldest grandson, Hushmut Jung".

On 19th January 1779 it was reported(9) to the Governor General in Council that Nawab Jessarut Khan departed this life on Tuesday last. 19th January 1779 being Tuesday it is evident that the Nawab died on 12th January 1779. Mr. Bradley-Birt in his "Romance of an eastern Capital" stated "Jessarut Khan still ruled as Naib Nazim until his death in 1781. The year given by Mr. Bradley-Birt is therefore apparently wrong.

On the death of Sayid Mahomed Khan in 1785 without issue his second brother Nusrat Jung applied to succeed in a letter dated September 1785. The Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department was then asked to "report(10) upon the Original cause of the grant to the Nawab of Dacca and to prepare a Sanad in strict conformity to the old form for the continuance thereof to his second brother Sayid Alli Khan Nusrat Jung reciting the Original cause aforesaid but specifying that the grant is liable to the decision of the Court of Directors".

The Preparer of Reports reported that "records(11) both in the General and Secret Departments had been searched without having been able to trace the resolution for the appointment of Nawab Jessarut Khan to the Neabut of Dacca" but he referred to the remarks dated the 16th June 1778 of the Governor General (W. Hastings) when the Sanad was last granted in favour

(7) Revenue Department Proceedings, 16 June 1778, No. 4.

(8) Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

(9) Revenue Department Proceedings, 26 February 1779, No. 11.

(10) Revenue Department Proceedings, 20 March 1786, No. 29.

(11) Revenue Department Proceedings, 10 March 1786, No. 29.

of Sayid Mahomed Khan who succeeded Jessarut Khan. He then delivered in a Sanad made out in strict conformity to the one last granted to Sayid Mahomed Khan. The Sanad which afterwards received the sanction of the Court of Directors ran as follows:—

<p>Nawab Sayid Ali Khan Nusrat Jung, 1785-1822.</p>	<p>Translation of Dewanny Sunnud in favour of Sayid Ali Khan for the Office of Naib Nazim of Dacca:—</p>
---	--

“To (12) the Chowdries, Zemindars, Conoongoes, Rayots, Husbandmen, and all the Natives and Inhabitants of Chuckla Jehangeernaggur, in the Province of Bengal, Be it known,

In consideration of the claims of the late Jussarut Khan, who in former times assisted and befriended the Dependants of the Hon'ble the English Company; The Office of Naib Nazim of the aforesaid Chuckla has been granted in the room of Syed Mahummud Khan Hushmut Jung, Deceased, to the Noble and illustrious Syed Ally Khan Bahadur, Nussrut Jung, Nussur-ul-Moolk, Intizam-u-Dowlah, that he may duly and properly discharge the business of the Nizamut of that place, and not the smallest particle of vigilance and circumspection neglected or undone.—He is to exert his utmost Endeavours for the punishment of the Seditious and Rebellious, for the protection of the subject and the Payer of Revenue for the Decision of all complaints according to the Books of the Law and for preventing the Manufacture of firearms. He is strictly to prohibit the sale of Lead, powder, and other articles of war to such as are turbulent and seditious. He is to collect the Revenue of the lands under his superintendence and pay regularly what is due to Government according to the fixed Instalments. He is to make no disbursement without a proper voucher. He is to keep the Ryotts Happy and satisfied, under his good Management, and so exert himself that lands capable of cultivation, shall not remain waste—but the Marks of improvement and cultivation increase, more and more, he is to refrain from exacting any of the Prohibited Abwabs or Taxes. He is at the stated times, as usual, to take the list, muster-roll and Register of the persons who compose his Ressala or company, and of the Boatmen and others attached to the *Bheatee Nowara* under his charge and conduct every part of the business as usual—and when any person dies or absconds He is to report the nomination to the vacancy to the Huzzoor.—

You are therefore to consider the abovenamed to be the established Naib Nazim of the above place, and the discharge of the duties and functions thereof as appertaining to him—you will not act contrary to his good counsel tending to the advantage of Government, and the ease of the Subject. His confirmation in this Office

however you must know to depend on the receipt of orders from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors—Know this to be strictly and positively enjoined: Written on the 10th day of March of the English year 1786 corresponding with the 28th Phaugon of the Bengal year 1192 or 7th of Rubeeul awal of the 28th year of the Reign”.

In connection with the introduction of the New Police Regulation in the city of Dacca in 1813 the then Acting Magistrate Mr. Elliott had a hitch with Nawab Nasrut Jung in consequence of which the Nawab complained (13) to Governor-General in Council against the conduct of the Magistrate. In explaining his conduct Mr. Elliott in his letter dated the 2nd January 1814 submitted. “The (14) relations existing between His High-

Relative position of the Nawab of Dacca and the Magistrate of that city.

ness the Nawab of Dacca and the Magistrate of that city do not seem to be precisely defined or clearly understood. I have considered myself in the light of a British Magistrate, presiding over the peace and safety of the city of which His Highness happened to be a distinguished inhabitant and not as the British Resident at the court of His Highness the Naeab of Dacca. I have consequently considered the preservation of the peace and protection of the lives and properties of the people committed to my care as infinitely of greater importance and as more immediately my duty than the gratification of the personal feelings of His Highness the Nawab whenever they might in my judgment appear incompatible with the attainment of those objects. But in the above inference I may perhaps have been mistaken and have therefore further to submit that the relations proper to be preserved between His Highness the Nawab and the Magistrate of the city of Dacca be clearly and distinctly defined to prevent all future altercations and to save all unnecessary waste of time and labour”.

On the above submission the Governor-General in Council in their proceedings dated the 15th January 1814 observed as follows:—

“It (15) would be a task of extreme difficulty to provide a priori for the different cases which may arise affecting the Magistrate's authority on the one side and the dignity of the Nuwaub on the other.—From the nature of the relation in which the Nuwaub stands towards the Magistrate, the Governor-General in Council is sensible that, a more than ordinary share of prudence, temper and moderation is necessary on the part of the latter, in his intercourse with the Nuwaub. But with those qualities the Governor General in Council does not anticipate any material difficulties from the relative situation in which they stand towards each other.—All efficient power resides in the Magistrate, and not in the Nuwaub. All therefore which seems requisite is, that the former

(13) Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 24 December 1813, No. 1.

(14) Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 15 January 1814, No. 7.

(15) Judicial Criminal Proceedings 15 January 1814, No. 10.

should exercise that power with all the moderation which the rules presented for his guidance will admit, and that it should be further tempered by those habitual attention and marks of respect to which the rank of the Nuwaub so fully entitles him. Following this course the Magistrate will always receive due support from the Government, which must of course be decisive in any difference of opinion, should any again occur, between the Nuwaub and the Magistrate."

This correspondence shows that most of the executive functions of Nawab Nusrut Jung as defined in the sanad granted to him in 1786 for the office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca "must have been nominal and quite inapplicable to the state of things existing at that time but it would be farcical to talk of an office having such duties annexed to it in 1913-14."

"Nawab (16) Saiyid Ali Khan Nusrut Jung died on 21st July 1822 leaving only one daughter named Qudsia Begum who was married in 1820 to her cousin Kumar-ud-dowlah the only son of Shums-ud-dowlah who was the last survivor of the 3 grandsons of Jessarut Khan who then claimed to be recognized as head of the family and asked that honour and consequence of the family may be maintained". The previous conduct of Shums-ud-dowlah had been very unsatisfactory. "For the subversion of British Empire, he was engaged in a number and variety of projects extending from Behar to the Court of Zemaun Shah and even to Persia, including also a plan concerted with persons at Muscat for the introduction of a body of Arabs into our (British) Provinces, in consequence of which Arab Ships actually arrived in 1796 and 1797, at the port of Calcutta, having on board armed men and Military Stores, the Commanders of which Ships had orders to obey such directions as they might receive from Shums-ud-Dowlah".

The plot was, however, discovered and Nawab Shams-ud-dowlah was tried (17) by a Special Tribunal under Regulation 4 of 1799 consisting of Messrs. Williams, Augustus Brooke, John Buleir and John White, Hamid Kahn was appointed to conduct the prosecution of part of Government and Muzzam Hussain and Seraj-uddin were appointed as Law Officers. The Special court was held at the Belvederes "Shums-ud-dowlah (18) was convicted of attempts to enter into league with the sovereign of other countries for the purpose of destroying the sovereignty of the Company, of endeavouring to connect himself with the Zemindars of the Behar with a design of exciting internal commotion and of keeping up a reasonable correspondence" and was sentenced by the Special Tribunal on 25th February 1800 to "undergo (19) imprisonment until the Governor General in Council shall be satisfied with the sincerity of his repentance". This was approved by

(16) Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

(17) Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 22 August 1799, No. 1.

(18) Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 18 December 1800, No. 25.

(19) Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 18 December, 1800, No. 26.

the Governor General in Council on 18th December 1800. He was, however, "released (20) in 1803 by the Governor General (Lord Wellesley) and his Council on certain conditions and restrictions on the security of his brother Nawab Nusrut Jung, and on a reduced allowance, but in 1806 a full and free pardon was spontaneously granted to him by the Governor General in Council (Sir G. Barlow) and his stipend restored to the former amount of Sicca Rupees 1,000 P. Mensem". The remarks of the Court of Directors contained in their Political dispatch dated the 6th July 1808 on this Proceedings, were as follows:—

"Your secret Dispatch of the 6th September 1806, has advised us of the considerations which induced the late Governor-General in Council (Lord Wellesley) to release the Nabob Shums-oo-Dowlah from his confinement under certain conditions and restrictions, and of the subsequent determinations of Sir George Barlow and the Council to abrogate those conditions, and to restore Shums-oo-Dowlah to the enjoyment of his former privileges and allowances, founded partly on the conviction which was entertained of the good effects which would result to the British Government from this act of clemency, and partly on your sense of the correct and exemplary conduct of the Nabob since his return to Dacca. We are satisfied that Shums-oo-Dowlah would not have been liberated without our previous sanction agreeably to the directions in our Political dispatch of the 14th September 1803, had not the faith of the British Government been pledged for his release from confinement previous to the receipt thereof, in consequence of the pressing solicitations of his Brother Nusrut Jung, Nabob of Dacca. But when we consider the serious magnitude of the crimes of which Shums-ood-Dowlah was convicted and the number and variety of the projects in which he was engaged we cannot but feel some doubt concerning the wisdom and prudence of setting free a person of so dangerous a character. We are, however, persuaded that the measure was not adopted on your part without the most mature deliberation, and we therefore trust that the view which you have taken of the subject will be justified by events, recommending, however, and directing that your most anxious vigilance be exerted in watching over the future behaviour and proceedings of an Individual whose activity and capacity for intrigue has been formerly displayed in a manner so formidable to the British Interests in India."

In connection with the question of the succession of Nawab Sums-ud-dowlah to the Neabut of Dacca the following points were raised by the Persian

"First.—Whether the Office of Naib Nazim at Dacca shall be any longer recognised and maintained (21).

(20) Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

(21) Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

Secretary on 15th August 1822 with his observations thereon:—

*Second.*—Who shall be admitted as head of the Dacca family.

*Third.*—What allowance shall be continued for their maintenance.

*Fourth.*—The subject of the Dacca Nizamut Pensions or Tunkhadars, and the charitable allowances or Rozinah.

*Fifth.*—The Jageers called Nowarah Mehal."

"It (22) is quite obvious that the Office of Naib Nazim in the Dacca Division of Bengal was purely Ministerial, like the corresponding situations in the Moorshedabad Division and in Behar, and Grounds for abolition of the Office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca. can in no way be considered hereditary, or as having any of the attributes of property or sovereignty attaching to it (like the dignity of Nazim). Its duties are defined in the Sunnud granted to the Nuwwab Nusrut Jung (conformably to old forms). Most, if not all, of the said functions must have been nominal and quite inapplicable to the state of things existing even in 1785; but in present day it would be farcical to talk of an Office having such duties annexed. The Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah does not himself now apply for a Sunnud as his brother did in 1785 but merely asks generally that the honour and consequence of his family may be maintained. As there are no engagements in existence which bind Government to keep up the Office of Naib Nazim at Dacca; as the corresponding Offices in Behar and on this side of Bengal have long since been abolished; and as there is nothing in the circumstances of Shums-ood-Dowlah to give him any peculiar claim to indulgence, it will probably be though expedient to pass over and omit altogether the appointment of Naib Nazim."

"The personal allowance granted to the late Nuwwab Nusrat Jung was Sicca Rupees 6,000 per mensem. Those of the Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah and his wife Budr-oon Nissa Begum are respectively Sicca Rupees, 1,000 and 500 per mensem, paid out Grounds for reduction of allowance of Nawab Shums-ud-dowlah. of the Moorshidabad Nizamut Stipends. They are both entered in the list of the Zee Huq stipendiaries. The Begum is the daughter of the former Nuwwab Nazim, Mobarek-od-Dowlah. Nothing is known of the family expenses of the late Nusrut Jung, or of the mode of appropriating the allowance assigned to him. The most convenient and popular determination would to be recognize Shums-ood-Dowlah as head of the family, and to authorise the Collector to pay to his receipt whatever provision may be granted. Under this arrangement a deduction of Sicca Rupees 1,500 per mensem may be fairly made from the sum of 6,000 Rupees per mensem assigned as a personal allowance for the late Nuwwab. The above arrangement would leave 4,500 to be drawn by Shums-ood-Dowlah on his own account from the Dacca Treasury, and the head of the Dacca family would still enjoy the old rate of allowance, whilst a saving of 1,500 per mensem accrues to Government."

"The Dacca Nizamut Pensions amount to 2,901 per mensem, leaving out annas and gundas, or Sicca Rupees 34,812 per annum. It was the apparent meaning of the orders of Government in 1802 to recognize them merely as life pensions; but in the face of these orders vacancies have been always filled up at the recommendation of the Nuwwab, who has in fact exercised the patronage of disposing of all such lapsed stipends to whomsoever he might consider fit objects of favour or charity. These pensioners seem originally to have been the Officers of the Dacca Nizamut establishment, or stipendiaries during pleasure, who were regularly entered in the Sebundee accounts of the Naib Nazim as a part of the public charge. . . . In consequence of the cessation of the nominal Deputy Nizamut Office, all controul and interference of the future Head of the Family in the payment of the above, or in recommending the appropriation of lapsed stipends should be interdicted."

"The same observation applies to the allowance of 7,110 Rupees per annum to Rozinadars, which seems to have been a purely charitable allowance, distributed at the discretion of the Nuwwab Nusrut Jung, and which was passed by Government at a fixed rate in the orders dated 26th August 1802 during the life of that personage."

"With the loss of the Office (of Naib Nazim) all right and title to possession of these (Nowarah) lands must cease on the part of the Dacca family and that Government will deem it expedient to resume them."

Ground for resumption  
of Nowarah lands.

The Governor General in Council then passed the following order on 12th September 1822 regarding the points raised in connection with the succession of Nawab Shums-ud-dowlah:—

"His Lordship in Council (23) is pleased to recognise the Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah as the head of that family, and to authorise his drawing from the Collector's Treasury a monthly stipend of Sicca Rupees 4,500 for their support and his own, as also for that of any Dependents whom they may be under obligations to provide for. The Nuwwab will, besides, continue to receive the personal allowance of 1,000 Rupees per mensem for himself, and Sicca Rupees 500, for his wife, from the Moorshidabad Nizamut."

"It does not appear to Government necessary or expedient to keep up and recognize any longer the nominal and, in reality, obsolete Office of Naib Nazim of Jehangeer Nagur; but precisely the same form of address will be continued to Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah from the Persian Office, as has been all along in use towards the Head of the House."

End of the office of the  
Naib Nazim of Dacca but  
the same form of address  
will continue in respect of  
the Head of the House.



"The Governor General in Council has further determined to separate completely from the Nuwwab's future control the payment of all classes of Nizamut Pensioners called Tunkha Dars and Rozinadars, at Sicca Rupees 2,901-2-12, (sic.) and 592-8-0 respectively, per mensem. They will in future receive payment on the footing of other Pensioners from the Collector's Office, and their claims will have to undergo a regular scrutiny before they can be admitted on the Registers. The subject also of the Nowareh Jageer lands will be taken into consideration, with a view to revision."

The obsolete office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca thus came to an end in 1822 and Shams-ud-dowlah was left with an empty title of Nawab with an allowance devoid of all powers and privileges.

Nawab Shams-ud-Dowlah died in November 1831 and his son Kamar-ud-Dowlah succeeded him as Head of the Family. Though the office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca ended with Nawab Nusrat Jung still the same form of address and the same allowances continued as had been hitherto in use towards the Head of the House.

Nawab Kamar-ud-Dowlah and his wife Qudsia Begum, the daughter of Nawab Nusrat Jung, died in 1834. Qudsia Begum had no issue but the Nawab left a son very young in age, named Gaziuddin Mahomed, by Hyat-un-nissa Begum, who succeeded him as Head of the Family. This young Nawab used to lead a very reckless life and his grand-mother Buddur-un-nissa Begum, wife of late Nawab Shams-ud-Dowlah and daughter of Mobarrack-ud-Dowlah late Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad wrote to the Governor General Lord William Bentinck on 30th January 1835 "I was informed that a great irregularity was observed in my family at Dacca and that the Stipend of Sicca Rupees 4,500 assigned to my Grandson Gazuddin Mahomud the present Nawab of Dacca, is misapplied, consequently the demands of those, who have just right thereto, are much in arrear—I therefore left Moorshidabad and arrived here (Dacca) on the 5th ultimo. From the existing circumstances I conclude that the inordinate practice cannot be checked without the interference of public authorities. I therefore beg to solicit the favour of your Lordship's directing the Commissioner of Dacca to afford me such advice and assistance, as may be requisite to crush these evils(24)."

In consequence of the above representation, to put a check on the young Nawab, Maulvi Abdul Alim was appointed Darogah, in consultation with Budder-un-nissa Begum, for the management of the Nawab's household affairs. But the Nawab wanted to dismiss him on the ground of his low birth, etc., while the then Commissioner of Dacca objected to it saying that the case is being referred to the Governor of Bengal for orders, but until a reply is received "I shall continue to consider Abdool Aleem as the Darogah

of Your Highness's household". In referring the case to the Governor in Council the Commissioner observed "I do not find that any specific instructions have ever been issued pointing out the sort of controul which the Commissioner of Dacca is entitled to exercise over the affairs of the Nuwaub, and the refractory spirit manifested by His Highness makes it necessary that my authority should be clearly defined, if under the circumstances of the case it be considered expedient to maintain any official connection between the state which pays the pension and the pensioner who receives it(25)" on which the Governor in Council informed the Commissioner on 14th September 1835 as follows:—

"You were not authorised to retain Abdool Aleem in the capacity of Darogah of the Nawab's household, after the Nawab has declared that he has dismissed him from his service."(26)

This trifling incident is mentioned here to show what little power the Nawab of Dacca ultimately had and how he was restrained in exercising that power.

On the death of Nawab Gaziuddin Mohomed(27) on 23rd August 1843 his mother Hyat-un-nissa Begum represented that Amir-un-nissa Begum one of the wives of her deceased son had been left four months ago with child. The Revenue Commissioner of Dacca proceeded to the residence of the late Nawab and made an enquiry to ascertain whether there was any truth in the assertion made by the mother of the Nawab.

The Revenue Commissioner reported on 18th September 1843 on the basis of the depositions of persons examined by him in course of his enquiry, that "the late Nawab was never regularly married to any lady of his own rank or of really respectable family. His vicious tastes and habits led him to form connections of a character, which might be more easily dissolved, except in the case of Begum Ajan, to whom he had been bound under the ceremony of 'Nikah'." The persons examined, who were in constant attendance on the Nawab could not declare positively what was the nature of the connection subsisting between him and the several females, in the Mehal Serrai. They would appear however most properly to come under the designation of 'Mumtooha' which means that they were connected with the Nawab, in virtue of a certain verbal agreement, which placed their persons at his disposal for a specified time(28)."

Moreover, Amir-un-nissa Begum who was "said to be with child by him, had not even the honor of being included in his harem. She was a female slave in the household of Hyatunsessa Begum, the mother of the deceased Nawab". "From the depositions of the persons examined, the attempt to prove that some form of marriage or bond of legal union, had passed between the Nawab and Amir-un-nissa, fell completely to the ground ; their

(25) Political Department Proceedings, 14 September 1835, No. 7.

(26) Political Department Proceedings, 14 September 1835, No. 8.

(27) Political Department Proceedings, 30 October 1843, No. 7.

(28) Political Department Proceedings, 30 October 1843, No. 8.

statements being directly opposed to each other, and altogether disowned by those, who were honest enough to speak the truth". Though "the Nawab did occasionally visit his mother in her own lodgings, and it was possible, that Amir-un-nissa might have been got with child by him it was considered very far from being probable, because in the event of the Nawab's believing himself likely to become a father, he would have communicated his hopes to his most confidential servant, the Darogah Mir Ismail Khan, and would have taken measures for removing the mother of the expected child from the degrading position she was then occupying" ; but the Nawab did nothing of the kind.

It was accordingly held(29) that the Nawab left no heir the pension enjoyed by him and the former Nawabs of Dacca reverted to Government. A small sum of Rs. 924-2-0 per month was however provided for the maintenance and support of the female connections and servants who depended on the late Nawab for their livelihood including other expenses as detailed below:—

Allowances to dependents	...	...	859	10	6
6 men to guard Nawab Bari at 3	...	...	18	0	0
For preserving Nawab's tombs	...	...	16	8	0
For supervising payment of pensions, etc.	...	...	30	0	0
			<hr/>		
			924	2	6
			<hr/>		

The noble and illustrious family of the Naib Nazim Nawab Jassarut Khan of Dacca thus came to an end in 1843 on the death of Nawab Gaziuddin

End of the Dacca Nizam family. Mohomed without heirs. H. J. Reynolds in his

History and Statistics of Dacca Division stated "In the year 1845 the title and dignity (of the Dacca Nawab family) became extinct on the death of the last incumbent without heirs." The year given by Mr. Reynolds is wrong.

S. C. BANERJEE

## Marquess Wellesley's Policy towards Sindia in the War with Holkar (1804-05.)

---

MARQUIS WELLESLEY has been acclaimed as the greatest in the roll of the Governors-General that England sent to administer its vast possessions in India. A careful and unprejudiced study of his policy and transactions during the war with Holkar, unfolded by the papers in the Imperial Record Office, Poona Residency and the despatches edited by Martin, requires, however, a reconsideration of the very high tribute paid to the Marquis.

During the war against the Maratha chieftains *viz.*, Sindia and Bhonsla, Yeswant Rao Holkar had held aloof. But as this war drew to a close, Holkar began to show signs of restlessness, he set himself to incite the allies of the British and his military movements became so threatening that the British Commander-in-Chief asked him to retire within his own frontiers. Holkar evaded and spun the web of negotiation for two months (February and March 1804). At last his extravagant demands and language<sup>(1)</sup> were considered to be an affront to the authority of the British Government and war was declared against him on the 14th April.

Sindia had promised hearty co-operation in this war. Sindia's Minister had divulged the secret machinations of Holkar's Vakil to the British Resident and expressed strong feelings of resentment against him.

This unfriendliness combined with the old rivalry, the deep hatred the two chiefs bore to each other and Sindia's immediate prospect of gain by the annexation of Holkar's territory induced in the Governor-General's mind a firm belief of Sindia's sincere enthusiasm for a war against Holkar, but as the war went on, Sindia played such a cool game of finesse and dissimulation that the mighty proconsul was completely disgraced. An analysis of the events and the policy of the Marquis during the varying phases of this conflict will make our contention clear. The first period of the war (April to June) was one of English triumph; Col. Monson steadily drove Holkar before him into Malwa while Col. Murray pushed towards Indore from Gujrat; Sindia proffered the help of a quota of troops which he sent under Bapuji Sindia to join Monson and help the English. But from the very outset he adopted

---

(1) Lake became rather angry "at Holkar's styling himself servant of Muhammad Shah", instead of the usual title of servant of Shah Alam, M. IV 49.

Martin is abbreviated into M.

The letters referred to in this paper will be printed in a volume of the Poona Residency Series which is being published under the general editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

dilatory and obstructive tactics. Starting from Rajeghar Pattan 2nd May, Bapuji reached Kotah at the end of the month (letter of 30th May). Anxious and solicitous at first for Col. Murray's march for the protection of his territories from Holkar (Webb's letter, 11th May), Sindia sought to impede three days after, Murray's quick march by proposing to the Resident a round-about route (Webb's letter of 14th May). At the end of May he underwent a complete somersault by proposing the recall of Bapuji for the defence of Malwa (Webb's letter to G. G. 31st May) and withholding all supplies and assistance necessary for Col. Murray's march. These were ominous symptoms. Sindia's Government pleaded extreme pecuniary distress, embarrassment and utter lack of resources. Some pecuniary advantage or concession was obviously needed to stir up Sindia's Government to activity.

The Governor-General believed the representation of Sindia's Minister and was willing to relieve the distress of Sindia's Government by a grant of money, but the pecuniary assistance was hedged round with such restrictions that instead of being a generous loan or aid, it became tantamount to coercion. "The Governor-General" wrote the Secretary on 11th June "will be prepared to consider with a sincere desire the means of affording pecuniary assistance to Daulat Rao's finances to the utmost practicable extent . . . . but it appears that this object might best be obtained by the conclusion of an arrangement with D. R. S., either for the grant of Dholpur, Bari, Raja Khera to the Hon'ble company in perpetual sovereignty or the transfer of those possessions to the British Government for a given period".

He also proposed to set Sindia's Government on its feet, but here again such humiliating conditions were annexed that they were calculated to add insult to injury. Thus, Secretary Lumsden wrote to Webb, "The G. G. will be disposed to consider with a cordial sentiment of amity the means of establishing order and peace within the dominions of the Maharaja, of improving his resources and of reviving such a portion of military power as may be necessary for the internal purposes of his Government and for his security under the protection of the British Government. But His Excellency will not sacrifice to Daulat Rao Sindia or to his Minister any portion of the British power or resources or any of the bulwarks of that power which have been acquired or fortified by the success of the war or the terms of peace, nor will the G. G. consent to infringe any article of our obligations to our allies in the war for the advantage and gratification of Daulat Rao Sindia". [letter, 11th June.]

The G. G. thus adopted a most illiberal attitude ; he ventured to tear away a rich territory from his ally, who was expected to render effective help. He wanted to acquire by diplomacy what he could not gain by war. It was a very risky and hazardous game which Wellesley chose to play with his ally and it soon brought its own retribution.

In June the prospect of English success was brighter. Col. Monson continued the pursuit of Holkar and Murray headed his way north-eastward advancing to Badnawar (only 46 miles from Ujjain) on 30th June.

Things seemed to go very well for the English. The enemy was girt in by a ring of armies closing upon him from all directions. "Holkar's army", Lake was confident, "would be hunted down after the rains by two or three light armies" (M. IV). In this exultant mood the Governor General regarded Holkar as of no consequence and Sindia as deserving no particular consideration. In a letter addressed to Webb on the subject of accommodation with Holkar, he thus expatiated, "The general principles of the arrangement, should be to assign to Yeshwant Rao Holkar a pension or Jagir similar to that assigned to Amrit Rao under the guarantee of the British Government, to make a suitable provision for Cashee Rao Holkar from the territories of the Holkar family and to assign the remainder of those territories to Daulat Rao Sindia". The Governor General however took care to define his attitude towards Sindia more clearly by saying that the "power of Sindia is now sufficiently reduced and the Durbar is disposed to act in the interest of the defensive alliance". He therefore "viewed with little apprehension and moderate and limited increase of Sindia's resources under the protection of the British guarantee". (Endmonstone's letter, 30th June).

With the advent of July the tide of the war however turned. Monson had proceeded into the heart of Malwa in pursuit of Holkar and on 7th July he was distant from Ujjain by only sixty miles. But then the wind turned in a contrary direction. Scarcity of provision coupled with his long distance from the base of operations, threw him into the greatest distress and compelled him to fall back. Holkar now flung himself upon the English and drove them back in a headlong retreat. The constant attacks of his cavalry gave the English colonel no rest; for nearly two months, the forlorn army continued its weary retreat and the shattered remnant of it struggled back to Agra in total demoralization on 31st August.

The disaster to Col. Monson's arms caused a sensation throughout India and brought about a complete alteration in the political situation. Holkar appeared with his cavalry in Northern India and hang like a menacing cloud near Mathura (September). As Lake advanced, Holkar dashed off to Delhi on 8th October and closely besieged it. At length the muffled undercurrent of disaffection caused by Wellesley's high-handed policy and ruthless annexation seemed to burst open the barriers and to overwhelm the British. The Bharatpur Raja Ranjit Singh and his son Ranadhir Singh opened a correspondence with Holkar and set on foot intrigues with the Zemindars of the Doab (M. IV 183). Ranghuji Bhonsla began to harbour sinister designs; he flirted with a scheme of recovering Katak and Sambalpur, while Sindia's conduct and transactions afforded clear symptoms of a rift with his ally. Col. Murray was withheld all supplies on his arrival in Ujjain "in spite of the abundance of grain in the town"; the sick in Monson's Camp were not provided with a fixed accommodation for their treatment. "They were constantly removed before the evening from the place which in the morning was fixed for their reception" while the colonel's utmost effort could not secure a sufficient body of cavalry (Webb's memorandum to D. R. S. 19th July). Sindia's agent fawned upon the British Resident and pleaded remissness to

utter breakdown of the Government. These insincere protestations were however contradicted by the overt acts of Sindia himself. He appointed Sarji Rao Ghatge as his Minister, an avowed enemy of the English, to the supersession of Vital pant. (Webb's letter of 15th August) and maintained Holkar's Vakil in his camp during a period of active warfare. Bapuji Sindia, his general enlisted himself in the service of Holkar (19th August) while his armed preparations and the march towards Bhopal revived the apprehension of a renewed war (L. 19th).

A great danger now faced the British (October 15—November 13). Holkar's attempt to storm Delhi failed but he swept through the Doab. The Universal disaffection against the British seemed now to coalesce and envelop the British in an overwhelming disaster. Even in this situation Wellesley's temper failed to rise equal to the crisis; some bold stroke of policy was needed to turn Sindia's enmity into friendship but the Governor General would not swerve from the policy he had adumbrated in his despatch of 11th June to Webb. His policy was inflexible and therefore proved to be utterly imbecile. He disregarded the unmistakable signs of Sindia's disaffection and defection and clung fast to the belief that Sindia's fidelity was unshaken. "The Governor General" wrote His Excellency's Secretary to Webb, on 5th November "was not disposed to deduce from any of the circumstances stated above in the despatch, conclusions unfavourable to the credit of that chieftain's fidelity to his alliance with the British Government". Regarding the continuance of Holkar's Vakil and Sindia's March towards Hussaingabad which had greatly agitated the Resident, the Governor General stated specifically that "it is desirable that Holkar's Vakil should be required to quit the camp of Sindia and you (the Resident) should take every proper opportunity of urging the dismissal of that Vakil but it is not His Excellency's desire that your remonstrance upon that subject should proceed to the extent of declaring the alternative of Vakil's continuance in the camp to be a dissolution of alliance or even of irritating the mind of Sindias' ". On the subject of Sindia's march to Hussaingabad, the Governor General considered it to be fraught with great danger. "It was favourable", the Secretary continued in course of the letter "to the renewal of a confederacy between the Raja of Berar and Daulat Rao Sindia". The Secretary added that "the communication of intelligence from Elphinstone (Nagpur) justified a confident belief that Raja Raghuji Bhonsla is disposed to take advantage of any opportunity favourable to the prosecution of hostilities against the British power . . . . . The disposition of Sarji Rao Ghatge . . . . . is known to be in the utmost degree inimical to the interests of the alliance. Besides, Venkoji Bhonsla, brother of Raghuji . . . . . might take advantage of Sindia's march to Hussaingabad to accomplish a meeting with that Chieftain and . . . . . might succeed in overcoming the reluctance (of Sindia) . . . . . to a combination of his interests with those of Yeshwant Rao Holkar". For these reasons, the Secretary continued, "it is extremely desirable that Sindia should be dissuaded from prosecuting his march to Hussaingabad or at least all communication between Sindia's army and that of the Raja of Berar and especially, a meeting between Sindia and

Venkoji . . . . . should be avoided. But as any severity and importunity of remonstrance is calculated to irritate his mind . . . . . the Governor General was determined to abstain from the measure of addressing a letter of remonstrance to Sindia" and he considered it more expedient to lay down a plan by which "Sindia would be disposed and enabled to act according to the true spirit and intent of the alliance". To achieve this object it was suggested that "the authority of Daulat Rao Sindia should be established in the Province of Malwa . . . . . and his military power invigorated but to that extent only which was necessary for the preservation of (his) authority and for the purpose of enforcing payment of the just claims of tribute from such of the Chieftains of Hindustan as have not been absolved from their connection with Sindia's Government by the operation of the 9th article of the treaty of Shurje Arjungaon". The Governor General also offered to aid him on his return to Ujjain with funds for the establishment of a military force. But even this limited assistance was made conditional on the removal of Ghatge from the position of Minister. "The Governor General" wrote his Secretary "was so entirely convinced of the depravity and wickedness of Ghatge and of the hostility of his disposition to the British Government that His Excellency will never consent to afford to Sindia the proposed assistance while that obnoxious person continues to influence his counsels in such a manner as to be enabled to control the application of that pecuniary aid". In other words Sindia was asked to sacrifice his minister in return for the establishment of his authority and the equipment of a military force. Never could a grosser miscalculation be made. In the first place, Sindia's authority over Malwa was not broken down. Secondly he was already in possession of a large army, which he was leading towards Bhopal. But vanity had entirely warped and clouded Wellesley's judgment. He displayed an utter incapacity to see men and events beneath the surface and analyse them with precision. Sindia's Minister juggled and completely deluded the Governor General.

During the month of November, Sindia's attitude became more menacing. Knit in a close alliance with Bhonsla he began to march through the former's territories in the direction of Chauragarh ; various alarming reports now spread abroad. The Resident reported to Fort William Sindia's designs on Bundel Khan (L. 15th November) while Ambaji Ingle's letter revealed the plan of a projected confederacy consisting of Holkar, Amir Khan, Ambaji and Sindia for the overthrow of the British. (L. 12th November) Dark shadows of an impending storm loomed over the horizon. But two simultaneous victories won over Holkar at Dig on 13th November and of Farukkabad on the 17th November dispelled the gathering clouds and restored the waning English prestige. Holkar was swept back with his cavalry across the Jumna into the Bharatpur territory and the English commenced the siege of Dig. The November victories again inflated Wellesley who reasserted his commanding tone and sounded a dire warning to Sindia. "Sindia" wrote His Excellency's Secretary, on 4th December, "should afford the only demonstration of a pacific spirit . . . . by retiring with his troops within the limits of his own territories. The British Government would not be induced by promises and



professions to abandon the effectual means . . . . of immediately repressing and avenging any hostile attempt on the part of Daulat Rao Sindia and the Raja of Berar''. The Governor General again expressed his strong detestation of Sarji Rao Ghatge and intimidated Sindia by saying that "he must be held responsible for all Ghatge's acts and that in any case, any hostility provoked by Ghatge against the British Government would be retaliated upon Sindia''. This outpouring of indignation was attended with the stereotyped bait of territorial gain. As Edmonstone wrote "notwithstanding his total inactivity in the war and the doubtful tenor of his late conduct . . . . . the British Government was still disposed to afford the assistance and to perform its promise of placing in his hands a considerable portion of the territory conquered from Yeshwant Rao Holkar provided that (his) counsels should be regulated by a spirit of amity and alliance" (M. IV 454). This angry utterance did not cow down Sindia to submission. On the other hand, it sunk the sense of his humiliation deeper into his mind while it encouraged the Acting Resident to a farther deed of insolence. As early as the 15th November the Resident had demanded insolent and provocative words the explanation of Sindia's intercourse with the Raja of Berar and the object of his advance through the territories of Bhonsla (L. 15th November). Wellesley's letter of the 4th December increased still farther the arrogance of the Resident. He demanded the immediate dismissal of his Minister Sarje Rao Ghatge on the alternative of his withdrawal from camp within the space of two days (L. 26th December). The result was on the next night that of the 27th December "the guard attached to the tent containing the Tusha Khana articles of the Residency was surprised and overpowered by a large body of plunderers while every person near the tent was wounded and murdered" and a sum of 12,000 Rupees was carried off as booty. This violent attack did not stand alone ; Sindia plundered the Peshwa's territory of Saugor while his emissary , Sakharam Pandit intrigued in Hyderabad.

Sindia's misconduct called forth stern chastisement, but the Governor-General was too powerless to deal effectively with these serious affronts to the British authority. He overlooked the devastation of Saugor by Sindia, while he did not suspect Sindia's complicity in the violent attack. In a letter to his brother Arthur Wellesley, 24th January, the Governor General recommended the withdrawal of Col. Haliburton's forces from their advanced position and stated farther that "no questions now depend either on the courts of Doulat Rao Sindia or of the Raja of Berar which appear to menace an interruption of the subsisting relations with these powers . . . . . The events of war in the Hindustan and the Deccan have compelled them to return to a sense of their obligation towards the British Government''. The protracted war was telling upon the already depleted treasury and now compelled the Governor-General to swallow the insult. Mr. Jenkins the hot headed Acting Resident at the Court of Sindia, however did not take any lesson from the events. He demanded "ample satisfaction from the Maharaja", for the outrage of the 27th December "the discovery and delivery into his hands the authors and instigators of the outrage" and held repeatedly the threat of quitting camp unless Sindia commenced his journey to Ujjain.

Then Sindia's wrath exploded, on the 25th January the Resident's camp was mercilessly pillaged by the Pindaris ; all articles and valuables including even the writing implements were either destroyed or carried away. "Doctor Wise and Lieutenant Green were seriously wounded". "The loss of all articles of apparel and defence and the number of the wounded people, placed the Resident in the most deplorable situation". (L. 26th January). As Jenkins wrote pathetically : "The British Residency has become a degrading spectacle to a camp by which it was held in the utmost veneration and respect (L. 20th February). Our camp equipage is reduced to a single tent which occupies a small corner of Sindia's equipment and in this situation we are exposed to the derision of the plunderers". To crown his misery he was made virtually a prisoner. As he himself wrote "I cannot consider myself bound by any obligation which does not exist to an absolute prisoner nor do I consider myself to enjoy the security which such a person usually enjoys". Would the "Royal Tiger" which stalked about in the majestic solitude of Fort William look on, while the honour of the British Residency was being shamelessly trampled down? One would expect that the mailed fist of Wellesley would now tear aside the cob web of Sindian diplomacy and strike the Maratha chieftain violently down. It is however with bewildering surprise that one reads the Governor General's sentiments conveyed to Col. Close. "The tenor of Mr. Jenkins despatch" . . . . . wrote the Governor General's Secretary on 24th February "has satisfied His Excellency's mind that Daulat Rao Sindia had no concern in the outrage committed upon the baggage of the Acting Resident and His Excellency entertains considerable doubt whether that outrage was instigated or abetted even by Sarji Rao Ghatge". "The Governor General", the despatch continued "was convinced that Daulat Rao Sindia is personally anxious to maintain the relations of amity . . . . . with the British Government and that the general disposition of the officers and army of that Chieftain is adverse to the policy of engaging in hostilities with the British power and although the Governor General entertains no doubt of the hostility of Sarji Rao Ghatge's disposition, His Excellency is unwilling to believe that even his influence is sufficient to overcome the general sentiment of war which is stated to prevail in the mind of Sindia". The pomposity of his grandiloquent utterances was now proved as utterly hollow to the Indian world.

He did not even indulge in a thunderous denunciation of Sindia but tamely acquiesced in the outrage with a feeble protest. To such a depth of degradation had the "greatest statesman that had ever been in India" sunk. The Governor General, of course, "deemed it necessary to demand a full explanation of that extraordinary act of violence, ample reparation and atonement for it". But he was still resolved to pursue that system of pacific measures towards that Chieftain described in despatches of the 5th November and 22nd December. Col. Close was therefore "directed to impress upon the mind of Sindia a due sense of the amiable and pacific nature of the designs of the British Government a confident belief of our solicitude for the restoration of vigour, efficiency and prosperity to his declining dominion" it is almost incredible to think that the masterful Lord of Company's possessions

at whose fiat Kings and princes trembled on their throne would thus grovel before an Oriental prince who was a mere lieutenant of the Peshwa. The fact is "The Tiger" was brought to bay.

Sindia had collected a large army consisting of 18 battalions of infantry, 26,000 cavalry including Pindaris, and 140 guns ; his march from Burhanpur to Saugor and his military operations were ere long causing rumblings of War. The British Commander-in-Chief was locked up at this time with his forces in a most obstinate fighting before the fortress of Bharatpur. Two determined assaults made on the fortress had been beaten back with heavy loss. Besides, Wellesley's ceaseless annexations and conquests had ere long awakened throughout India a general spirit of unrest and disaffection which might easily break out in a general rising. Wellesley was therefore compelled to give way. But the cup of his disgrace was not yet full. Sindia laid waste the city of Saugor and destroyed the Fort (end of February), and then commenced his march towards Bharatpur with the declared object of offering mediation between the English and Holkar and restoring peace between them. He reached Sabalgarh on the 29th March and then sent his minister Sarji Rao at the head of a considerable Cavalry to the camp of Holkar (L. 29th March). The vile reptile which had been scotched in the late war had now turned into a dangerous dragon. Powerless Sindia had assumed a dominating role—the position of a supreme arbiter. The Governor General was now absolutely helpless ; instead therefore of taking up cudgel against Sindia, he reprimanded the Resident at the Court of Sindia for abdicating his functions and remarked "it has not appeared to me by the tenor of the despatches written subsequently to the plunder of the British Camp that Daulat Rao Sindia was disposed to obstruct the functions of the British Resident or to deny the marks of attention due to your representative character . . . . . It would, therefore have been more conformable to His (Excellency's) wishes if you had used every effort to replace your losses immediately after the Commission of the outrage . . . . . A detachment of troops will probably be necessary for the protection of articles. . . . . You will demand from D. R. S. permission for the advance of such detachment and you will generally require from him (D. R. S.) every practicable assistance in restoring the Residency to its former condition" (L. 24th February). Alas! the British Resident was called upon to invoke the favour of that very power that had reduced him to abject ignominy and wretchedness. The incident of the atrocious outrage was still uppermost in the Governor General's mind. He therefore wrote "whatever questions may require discussion with Sindia", "the outrage committed upon the British Residency supersedes every other consideration. The Governor General deems it to be absolutely necessary . . . . . to require from D. R. S., a public and formal atonement . . . . . but he will not consider the actual discovery of the perpetrators of outrage, the recovery of the plundered property or the payment of its value to constitute indispensable branches of the required atonement . . . . . (His) Excellency will be satisfied with a public declaration and with the delivery of a letter" stating that the outrage was unauthorized. And the Governor General further directed the Resident to "avoid any harsh or irritating

language in making the representation which is always undignified and inconsistent with true policy". Under the influence of mighty events in Europe, the Governor General had seen the vision of a *pax Britannica* from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej. It now appeared to be the phantasy of an intoxicated brain. His desire to placate Sindia surpassed all bounds of decency. Directing the Resident to quit Camp in the event of Sindia's non-compliance with this modest requisition, the Governor General told Jenkins "you should signify to the Maharaja . . . . . that the departure of the British representative . . . . . is totally unconnected with any hostile designs on the part of the British Government . . . . . that the British Government will continue disposed to maintain the relations of peace while D. R. S., shall abstain from any acts of aggression against the British Government or any of its allies. . . . ." The Governor General also expressed his desire to satisfy many of Sindia's grievances—his claim for a sum of money from the collections of Chamar-gunda, Jamgaon and Powagar, (2) transference of Dholpur, Bari, etc., on the termination of hostilities, (3) the deletion of the name of Raja of Jodhpur from the list of tributaries. But the most significant of his gestures to pacify Sindia was his announcement to the "Maharaja to declare in plain terms under a written instrument transmitted to Lord Lake whether your Highness now proposes to dispute the validity of any of the treaties which you have already solemnly recognised, particularly whether you propose to dispute the validity of the treaty between the British Government and the Rana of Gohad". (M. IV. p. 496).

The Governor-General waived even his demand of a public and formal atonement in his letter of the 22nd April on receipt of Sindia's letter in which he said in cold formal words "The persons who have presumed to be guilty of such disrespect and improper proceedings towards the gentlemen of the Residency, shall be rebuked". (M. IV, 526). These words were considered to be a sufficient reparation and Wellesley expressed his warm approbation of Sindia's conduct in words which may be quoted, "I have resolved to afford to your Highness and to the world an additional proof of my disposition to confirm the bonds of amity and alliance with Your Highness's Government by accepting your Highness's letter as a sufficient satisfaction for the insults and outrages and by authorizing the Resident to proceed to the adjustment of all depending questions upon the basis of the treaties of peace and alliance". (M. IV. 528).

These concessions, however, came too late ; for before these letters had arrived, Sindia had thrown off all masks of amity, he had sent his minister Sarji Rao at the head of a considerable body of cavalry to Bharatpur (L. 7th April) enlisted Bapuji Sindia once more in his service (L. 14th April) and on the 15th April effected his union with Holkar. During the space of full one year Sindia had juggled, faced Janus-like both the English and Holkar. He now broke out into open rebellion. The failure of four gigantic assaults on Bharatpur and the offer of lenient terms to Raja Ranjit Singh broke completely the spell of English arms and encouraged Sindia to open enmity by linking his fortunes with Holkar. The Commander-in-Chief demanded his withdrawal

with his army to a distance of fifty cross and separation from the forces of Holkar (L. 24th April) or "the British Resident was to be sent back under proper escort". Sindia had thrown down the gauntlet and was not to be browbeaten to submission by empty threats. He did not pay the least heed to the Commander-in-Chief's words. On the other hand, in perfect unconcern the united armies began to move menacingly like a storm cloud. The Resident became seriously concerned for his own safety; he himself wrote pathetically to Martindell "it was in agitation to deliver myself and all other gentlemen of the Residency into the hands of Holkar" and in utter desperation the Resident began to hatch plans of escape in concert with Martindell (Jenkins's letter to Martindell).

The Welleslian system had now crumbled to pieces. The Marquis had been saved in his previous gambles with fate by the glitter of Arthur Wellesley's and Lake's sword. That magic was now gone; the Raja of Jaipur refused supplies to the British army and an anti-British confederacy consisting of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Udaipur Rajas seemed to spring into life (Sturrock's letter to Malcolm 26th June). The Resident was again subjected to insult on 14th July for repeating Lake's requisition of his dismissal. As the days of Wellesley's pro-consulship drew to a close, an ever-increasing gloom encircled him but already a faint gleam of light began to break through the darkness. This was the inevitable discord and disunity among the Indian princes which has been the bane of Indian life. In the middle of July, a palace revolution overthrew the ascendancy of Sarji Rao and restored Ambaji Inglia to power (Jenkins to Close 7th July). This was the first premonition of a coming rapture between Sindia and Holkar. In July the two Maratha Chieftains, however, marched majestically leagued in arms with the British Resident a prisoner in their train. The latter had suspended his functions, yet Sindia would not set him free. Lake's remonstrances and threats fell flat. Wellesley thereupon took the final step of addressing to D. R. S. a letter reinforcing C.-in-C's demand for the dismissal of Jenkins. The letter was interwoven with sentiments of cordiality but concluded with a threat. "Your Highness must be satisfied that the alternative of war or peace now rests with Your Highness. No demand has been made upon you nor will any demand be advanced by the British Government beyond the limits of the treaty of peace but no concession can be granted inconsistent with the engagement" (M. IV. p. 606). This was the last pronouncement made by Wellesley and it was of a piece with his former utterances. It revealed that the C. G. had had no other string to his diplomatic bow than alternate bluff and flattery. His over-confidence in the superiority of British arms had blinded him to all sense of realities. He failed to understand Sindia's sentiments until it was too late. Forgetting entirely that moderation to a beaten enemy constituted the essence of political wisdom he imposed a harsh treaty upon the heir of Mahadji who was hurled by one stroke from a position of eminence down to the dust. The occupation of Gwalior and Gohud and the release of a number of tributary Rajas from their allegiance to him deprived him of his virtual independence. The incorporation of a subsidiary clause in the treaty acted as a still greater source of irritation. The heir of Mahadji naturally

language in making the representation which is always undignified and inconsistent with true policy". Under the influence of mighty events in Europe, the Governor General had seen the vision of a *pax Britannica* from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej. It now appeared to be the phantasy of an intoxicated brain. His desire to placate Sindia surpassed all bounds of decency. Directing the Resident to quit Camp in the event of Sindia's non-compliance with this modest requisition, the Governor General told Jenkins "you should signify to the Maharaja . . . . . that the departure of the British representative . . . . . is totally unconnected with any hostile designs on the part of the British Government . . . . . that the British Government will continue disposed to maintain the relations of peace while D. R. S., shall abstain from any acts of aggression against the British Government or any of its allies. . . . ." The Governor General also expressed his desire to satisfy many of Sindia's grievances—his claim for a sum of money from the collections of Chamar-gunda, Jamgaon and Powagar, (2) transference of Dholpur, Bari, etc., on the termination of hostilities, (3) the deletion of the name of Raja of Jodhpur from the list of tributaries. But the most significant of his gestures to pacify Sindia was his announcement to the "Maharaja to declare in plain terms under a written instrument transmitted to Lord Lake whether your Highness now proposes to dispute the validity of any of the treaties which you have already solemnly recognised, particularly whether you propose to dispute the validity of the treaty between the British Government and the Rana of Gohad". (M. IV. p. 496).

The Governor-General waived even his demand of a public and formal atonement in his letter of the 22nd April on receipt of Sindia's letter in which he said in cold formal words "The persons who have presumed to be guilty of such disrespect and improper proceedings towards the gentlemen of the Residency, shall be rebuked". (M. IV, 526). These words were considered to be a sufficient reparation and Wellesley expressed his warm approbation of Sindia's conduct in words which may be quoted, "I have resolved to afford to your Highness and to the world an additional proof of my disposition to confirm the bonds of amity and alliance with Your Highness's Government by accepting your Highness's letter as a sufficient satisfaction for the insults and outrages and by authorizing the Resident to proceed to the adjustment of all depending questions upon the basis of the treaties of peace and alliance". (M. IV. 528).

These concessions, however, came too late ; for before these letters had arrived, Sindia had thrown off all masks of amity, he had sent his minister Sarji Rao at the head of a considerable body of cavalry to Bharatpur (L. 7th April) enlisted Bapuji Sindia once more in his service (L. 14th April) and on the 15th April effected his union with Holkar. During the space of full one year Sindia had juggled, faced Janus-like both the English and Holkar. He now broke out into open rebellion. The failure of four gigantic assaults on Bharatpur and the offer of lenient terms to Raja Ranjit Singh broke completely the spell of English arms and encouraged Sindia to open enmity by linking his fortunes with Holkar. The Commander-in-Chief demanded his withdrawal

with his army to a distance of fifty cross and separation from the forces of Holkar (L. 24th April) or "the British Resident was to be sent back under proper escort". Sindia had thrown down the gauntlet and was not to be browbeaten to submission by empty threats. He did not pay the least heed to the Commander-in-Chief's words. On the other hand, in perfect unconcern the united armies began to move menacingly like a storm cloud. The Resident became seriously concerned for his own safety; he himself wrote pathetically to Martindell "it was in agitation to deliver myself and all other gentlemen of the Residency into the hands of Holkar" and in utter desperation the Resident began to hatch plans of escape in concert with Martindell (Jenkins's letter to Martindell).

The Welleslian system had now crumbled to pieces. The Marquis had been saved in his previous gambles with fate by the glitter of Arthur Wellesley's and Lake's sword. That magic was now gone; the Raja of Jaipur refused supplies to the British army and an anti-British confederacy consisting of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Udaipur Rajas seemed to spring into life (Sturrock's letter to Malcolm 26th June). The Resident was again subjected to insult on 14th July for repeating Lake's requisition of his dismissal. As the days of Wellesley's pro-consulship drew to a close, an ever-increasing gloom encircled him but already a faint gleam of light began to break through the darkness. This was the inevitable discord and disunity among the Indian princes which has been the bane of Indian life. In the middle of July, a palace revolution overthrew the ascendancy of Sarji Rao and restored Ambaji Inglia to power (Jenkins to Close 7th July). This was the first premonition of a coming rapture between Sindia and Holkar. In July the two Maratha Chieftains, however, marched majestically leagued in arms with the British Resident a prisoner in their train. The latter had suspended his functions, yet Sindia would not set him free. Lake's remonstrances and threats fell flat. Wellesley thereupon took the final step of addressing to D. R. S. a letter reinforcing C.-in-C's demand for the dismissal of Jenkins. The letter was interwoven with sentiments of cordiality but concluded with a threat. "Your Highness must be satisfied that the alternative of war or peace now rests with Your Highness. No demand has been made upon you nor will any demand be advanced by the British Government beyond the limits of the treaty of peace but no concession can be granted inconsistent with the engagement" (M. IV. p. 606). This was the last pronouncement made by Wellesley and it was of a piece with his former utterances. It revealed that the G. G. had had no other string to his diplomatic bow than alternate bluff and flattery. His over-confidence in the superiority of British arms had blinded him to all sense of realities. He failed to understand Sindia's sentiments until it was too late. Forgetting entirely that moderation to a beaten enemy constituted the essence of political wisdom he imposed a harsh treaty upon the heir of Mahadji who was hurled by one stroke from a position of eminence down to the dust. The occupation of Gwalior and Gohud and the release of a number of tributary Rajas from their allegiance to him deprived him of his virtual independence. The incorporation of a subsidiary clause in the treaty acted as a still greater source of irritation. The heir of Mahadji naturally

## Calcutta Barmaids.

---

THE opening of the Suez Canal about 1866 made the journey to India comparatively easy and the fashion started of bringing girls out to serve behind the bar. In the leading British hotels they were engaged on agreements for six months ; some remained longer but comparatively few stayed beyond their time. One or two found a husband on board who took them off at Colombo or Madras and they failed to report at Calcutta. Others, perhaps more fortunate, married in Calcutta. Taking them in the aggregate they were level-headed, as moral as women not surrounded by temptation and often quick at repartee. One bright damsel attracted notice by putting in his place a fellow who thought he could shine with—"So you're the maid, are you?" was told, "I am, but I've had my chances." Another girl at the Adelphi, feeling herself insulted put one hand on the bar and vaulted over with ease, smacking the Lothario's face. In her early years she had been in a circus. But many of the "Mashers" who came for wool went away shorn. The girls were something of social lionesses in their own circle ruling over a little kingdom of their own.

Less important taverns engaged local girls but they considered life behind the bar degrading ; few stood up to it, generally taking a short cut to the dogs ; they may have been half way there before starting, but all barmaids were outside the pale of Society, forced to keep within the surroundings of their work. In India, more than anywhere, men and women can only climb the ladder they are on.

While evidence of their employment in Taverns goes back a long way, it was by no means a general custom for European women to have much to do with the sale of drink in Indian taverns or hotels.

Calcutta records for the year 1688 contain an item of news about Mrs. Francis, "wife of the late Lieutenant Francis killed at Hoogly by the Moors made it her petition than she might keep a punch-house for her maintenance."

Francis Le Gallais who carried on a tavern for sixteen years in Calcutta, dying in August, 1791, left a widow who managed the business after his death. She catered for what must have been the first St. Andrew's Day Dinner in Bengal, in 1792.

Only one reference has come to light about the wife of John Spence, founder of Spence's Hotel, Calcutta. George W. Johnson, who published in 1840, in London,—*"The Stranger in India, or Three years in Calcutta,"* apparently stayed there. He stated—"the fare, attendance, quietude, and



regularity cannot be praised too highly. There is a good dhoby who will be recommended by the hostess." Like so many others of those days Mrs. Spence died young. The "Bengal Obituary" contains the following reference—

"Here lies the remains of ELIZABETH,  
the wife of John Spence, who departed this life  
on the 15th Sept. 1833, aged 33 years.  
This frail memorial is placed here by her husband,  
whom she sincerely loved."

The attitude of men towards women (and to barmaids in particular) is like that of a woman at a bargain counter—both hope to get something for next to nothing. Therefore, when the news went round that a new barmaid had arrived, (and the hotel people did not take very great pains to keep that a secret) every man about town called to have a look-see ; there was nothing else to do anyhow and even if he was not particularly struck, it gave him something to talk about the next day.

Before putting on her best frock to make a *debut* in the bar, the management, knowing the eternal feminine is always looking out for the infernal bounder, put the girl through the local "Who's Who" and "What's What," (if she didn't know that before,) when details about the "Johnnies" who would be sure to pay their addresses—those ardent admirers with the best of manners and the worst of intentions—least likely to benefit anyone but themselves. If a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, very few of us are out of danger, but a little local knowledge can be very useful in teaching us who to meet, greet, and avoid. It has been said that a woman has one cell less in the head and one more in the heart than a man ; that is mostly when she is taken unawares, so a few words of warning about safety in numbers, with some emphasis on commission to draw were generally taken to heart.

Behind the bar her duties went no farther than pouring out the whisky. A khitmagar always stood alongside to put in the ice and push in the glass stopper of the soda water—quite a dangerous job then owing to the numbers of burst bottles. He was there too as a protector in case of danger which is always present late at night.

The good opinion she had formed of herself on the voyage was by no means diminished by finding all the men round the bar in evening dress. That interested more than the discovery that there were no chimney pots on the houses, or the absence of loving couples in the streets with their arms round one another's necks. The change from surroundings where there were more girls than men taught her the possibilities of friendship at first sight, love in ten minutes followed by a proposal after four pegs—happenings hardly worth writing home about. Most men take a wife as they buy a hat ; they try on a few, then, losing patience decide that "this one is near enough." and expect to be happy ever after.

As for the men living Robinson Crusoe lives upcountry, who, like other Englishmen have no real home and leave no memory, and, if they have a

family are little more than a fairy story to their children, it is hardly to be wondered at that they were carried away by buxom amiability in a low-necked bodice—all brevity, beauty and perspicuity,—which often displayed more than it hid. Poor fellows! they sighed enough to turn a windmill while offering heart and overdraft before she even let them know her pretty Christian name. Some of the Constant Lovers "Heart-consumed and anguish-pierced" could make such an impression on the girls' heart that would take a full fortnight to eradicate. Well, the girls behind the bars were the only decent women they had a chance to talk to and their extravagances have long been forgotten.

A pretty Jewess told me that she had seven serious proposals on her first night behind the Adelphi Hotel bar, and seven presents the next day which she sold forthwith to one of the local jewellers.

In those days when posts were created as a provision for such gentlemen failures as worthless sons-in-law, helpless cousins, troublesome nephews, the daring and the dissipated were cast off to India to "whistle down the wind to prey on fortune." Novelists of those times enthused over hard bargains who had disappeared under a cloud but returned years later, sunburned, and with a fortune, eager to marry the girl they had betrayed, (omitting all references to the girls who had betrayed them). Calcutta, during the cold season, offered them a warm welcome which would have been warmer had they paid their bills. Very few of them are seen today. With barmaids they have gone out of fashion. So have "Fallen Daughters", "Gloomy Sundays", "Wasp Waists," "Small Feet," and those "Black Sheep" who wasted years while choosing under which flag they were to complete their journey to Hades. Australia probably suffered more from crooks and twisters who absconded from the East than from those old-timers consigned to Botany Bay. A police officer who went to Sydney to bring back an absconding solicitor found five Calcutta men under detention for serious offences.

Vagabonds of good family were sent out to indigo concerns or to tea gardens owing to their relatives believing, with more hope than wisdom, that India was a land free from temptation even to those who carried that about with them. Hope is a good breakfast but a bad supper.

One of these star turns used to drive round the garden in a four-in-hand ; his relatives paid so long as he kept out of his native land and stayed where he might have a native landing him. When they came to Calcutta their principal occupation seemed to be looking for trouble and they always appeared in public in a complete outfit of social exaltation. One rather notorious snob objected, while talking to a girl behind the bar, because another man butted in and ignored a snubbing. Blunt speech led to—"Go on! Fitz . . . . You're not everybody!"

"Are you aware," said the aristocrat, "that I have a handle to my name?"

"So have other things that are kept under the bed." was not one of those soft answers which turneth away a hard truth.

Girls behind the bar were as great an attraction to idle men as they were to the girls. One, a member of an old noble Irish family proposed to a Spence's Hotel barmaid after a week-end courtship. She probably resembled the American woman who thought it would be cute to be the wife of one of those famous families that had brought up Ireland from a pup, and they spent the honeymoon at Chandernagore. Then creditors began to think, and to combine, forcing the happy pair to worry, not about how to be happy though married, but how to carry on. The problem must have been insoluble for they disappeared. A year or so later, Australian horse importers reported meeting his lordship in Sydney where he and his better half were serving behind a bar, bright and cheerful though without the handle to his name.

One of the five girls at the Hotel D'Europe in Calcutta was a daughter of a celebrated or notorious (whichever way your politics led you to believe) Labour Member of Parliament. She was well built, good-looking, and straight as a gun barrel. When men said what they thought of her father and his politics, tears came into her eyes and she would declare, "But you don't know what a good man he is, and what a devoted father!" She was one of many who came to India "just to see what it is like," that is, from the spirit of adventure. The men she met did not appear to attract so she went home and married there.

Practically all the girls came from lower middle class homes ; they were as well behaved and ladylike as the average of other English women in Calcutta. Probably they could talk better ; the man who said, "I like women who talk better than the other sort," was asked, "What other sort?" Talking can be carried on without brains but there is a gulf between talking and conversation. They were the confidantes of many of their acquaintances, which taught them wisdom. Looking back, one chuckles over what they would have thought, looked, and said, had they seen Society ladies of today—devotees of the cult—"Penny Plain, Tuppence Colored," doing their facial running repairs in public, those Society ladies would have been forthwith written down as "abandoned females" for being guilty of such vulgar immodesty. Women have always been accused of being conscientious in the art of misrepresentation but who can blame them?

"Little grains of powder,  
Little dabs of paint,  
Make a woman's wrinkles  
Look as if they aint."

A clever girl behind the bar was a great asset to the business. One, working for Evershed in Rangoon was offered better terms in another hotel and Evershed found that with one or two exceptions, all his patrons had silently stolen away.

In the mid-Eighties, a subaltern, after a courtship of three days married a girl in a Calcutta hotel. The honeymoon was spent in Taff Williams' hotel in Raniganj—(the "place to spend a happy day" as the advertisements

ran). To say that her education had been neglected would be the exact truth, for another week at an elementary school would have been noticeable in her conversation. She was a good girl and had nothing to do with any admirer who didn't mind wearing his coat out at the elbows through leaning, love-sick on the bar, unless she could say—"E be'aves 'isself".

When the fog of infatuation dispersed, the young soldier sent her home to his parents who tried the effect of a few terms at school. Some of the veneer of deportment came easily enough, but she had 'made her bazaar' and her brain was atrophied. Nothing could get her out of saying "sunthin" a word that led to many breezes. As with other people, mispronounced words are like a loose tooth—the tongue is never off them. Twenty years later, when she had a daughter the same size as herself she could be depended on to greet old friends with "sunthin" that annoyed or interested her.

The average barmaid who married a local man turned out as good a wife and mother as other women. If there were failures they did not come to light. One turned out "temperamental" which the wearer of the matrimonial hair shirt said was 97% temper and 3% mental. He took to spending most of his time in the places where he found his wife and fell on hard times. She, poor soul, thought she could talk to a Pathan moneylender in the language of her domestic circle and was hit with an iron-shod *lathi* which killed her on the spot. The Pathan got away.

Much as those who married barmaids may have tried, they could never live down the past. India is the worst place in the world for that ; people know too much about one another. Woman forgives, man forgets, but the world remembers.

In 1885 among three women brought out for one of the hotels, one captured the proprietor. The wedding was quiet, one outsider being present. Six months later she confessed that she had fallen so deeply in love that an invalid husband and family in England completely faded from memory. The second husband knew he had a prize, and they were married again, the only outsider being myself, the second marriage being quite all right as her first husband had obligingly died. It does not often fall to the lot of a man to be at a double wedding—twice to the same couple—inside a year.

Goldie Morrison, a big, blonde Scot with that unconscious charm which infected all he met, came out in 1880 to Calcutta for a bank which went into liquidation. Another bank offered him a good billet and he was getting on well when he fell in love with and married a pretty barmaid, a girl of good family and education, in Spence's Hotel. The marriage was a most happy one but in a land swarming with the deathless army of snobs, a barmaid could not be tolerated and Morrison found himself looking for work again.

For a couple of years they went through lean times but fortune smiled again ; he was appointed liquidator of B. Smythe & Co., important wine and spirit merchants, one of the biggest firms in the city. Out of the ruins

of that business he picked up the agency for one of the most reputable brewing concerns in Great Britain. With his fine physique and delightful manner he secured orders from many regiments whose consumption of beer ran to hundreds of barrels every month. The extent of the business he brought in astounded the firm at Home, and Morrison thought he was made for life.

Experienced commercial travellers who come East say it is unwise to send home too many orders to one particular firm as it leads to some family dependant being engaged to take over the agency and the sacrifice of the man who found the customers. A story is told about a young assistant in a firm in the U. S. A., who was ordered to report at the head office where he was told :

"Of all the staff I notice that you are most interested in your work. You are always here on the tick in the morning, finish your job before leaving at night and pay attention to every detail." The assistant's eyes glowed with pleasure. The head of the firm continued—"That therefore means that I am going to ask you to resign. It is such young fellows as you who learn here and then start your own business."

While Goldie Morrison was congratulating himself on his success, the brewers, unaware of the great charm and ability of their representative, decided to send one of their own men out feeling sure he would do far better than a stranger, and Morrison was told to go.

After that, whatever he put his hand to, turned out a failure. He came down to living in a poor part of Entally, where he unfortunately picked up confluent small-pox. While in a critical state someone told Mrs. Morrison that Goldie had gone blind. As a matter of fact he had lost the sight of one eye—the other was not affected, but the news gave such a shock that she gave premature birth to an infant, and died.

While he was slowly recovering he constantly complained—"I can't make it out. The Mem Sahib doesn't write to me," but the news had to be told. A Scots padre tried to break it to him as gently as possible, but it was too much for the poor fellow to bear. He refused all food and quietly, but persistently, went to joint her.

The Scottish community raised a large sum for the three children at school in Scotland, and did so much for them that for once in my life I regretted not being a Scot. The baby who had come into a world of sorrow a month before due date, was taken home by a wealthy couple retiring from business and brought up as their own, possibly never told of the great love that comforted his parents during a life time of devotion and misfortune, but spared a life under that harsh taskmaster—poverty. Verily, as the Persian philosopher said,—when fate descends, all caution is in vain.

Mrs. Brockway, wife of the Union Chapel padre, and mother, (I have been told) of Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., started an agitation in 1898-1899 against the employment of women behind hotels bars in India. Like those who constantly deplore the decay in religion, she forgot that the same

proportion of women are born into the world who wish to be wives, mothers, actresses, nurses, teachers, or have hearts like hotels able to accommodate anybody. Were that not so the world wouldn't go round.

She was probably stimulated by the activities of a Society in England which was out for notoriety on the same stunt, making much out of the supposed risk to, or harm done to girls behind the bar,—their long hours and loss of liberty—as it was then the practice to preserve the good name of hotels and pubs by locking the girls up every night. A sensational item in their propaganda was that "10,000 British barmaids are confined every night". The falling birthrate hardly substantiated that, but to women disappointed and soured by having no children, that stirred them to activity.

One of the reformers was Warne, a professional Christian known in most of the back streets as the "Weeping prophet of Dhurumtola", who was both Jeremiah and the Lamentations in one but, physiologically more bilious than pious. Too humble to affect anything but a short alpaca jacket instead of the usual clerical garment there was in him some desire to teach his flock to understand that

"I place my anna in the plate ;  
I cast mine eyes on high ;  
Thank God I've paid my weekly rent  
For a mansion in the sky."

In the pulpit Warne's lamentations sounding like the bleating of a fighting goat. A walking funeral, it filled his soul with grief to think of any one being cheerful in this vale of tears. Man's only thought, to him was, outside the collection box, gloomy forebodings about his latter end. It paid in more ways than one. Some of his congregation, equally bilious, went home pleased at having to use two handkerchiefs during the sermon. When he returned to the United States he was made a Bishop in some obscure branch of the Christian faith and while holding that office, sobbed his path to the grave.

Physical deterioration was Mrs. Brockway's strongest argument. Most of us, men and women, go off a bit during our first two years in India but that generally wears off. Few living things bear transplanting without a bit of wilting. Mrs. Brockway was not a whole-hogger ; she was willing to compromise to the extent of permitting women to serve behind hotel bars provided that they had passed the age of two score years and ten. That was the argument which led me to sign the petition for the abolition of barmaids.

Mrs. Magri of the Hotel d'Europe, who not only employed five barmaids but had an "Austrian String Band" of about eight Danubian Jewesses, and had led a life of wide, very wide experiences in which she had never missed anything, jeered at this. "Too old at Fifty!" when women were holding on to life with their false teeth was nonsense. Of all ages that was the most dangerous for then every half chance was taken in real earnest. Well, there's something in that, as the girl said when she pulled on her stocking.

As usual, reforms breed reformers. An elderly, pious busybody, wife of a legal luminary with several hefty sons, started an agitation for the dispersal of other Danubian Jewesses who plied their ancient trade in Kerr's Lane, (now Collin Street). They were right off the main street and interfered with nobody, but the old lady, more busy than pious although she had nothing at all to do, but having a lot of the law at her back was, for a time, successful in her campaign. It gave many others a chance to benefit by the cult of blackmail. The unfortunate women were sharked by their fellow-countrymen who revel in all business which does not suffer from the drawback of fixed prices, taking brokerage from the women, *bacsheesh* from the landlords, and by forcing jewellery on the girls on the instalment system at Jewish prices in part payment for an Israelitish good turn.

Everything has its opposite number and the pious old moral sanitary inspector found the houses next door and also opposite to her own occupied by members of the unfair sex whose numerous male friends kept hours of extraordinary irregularity. Then letters came from abandoned females complaining about her sons failure to meet pecuniary obligations, and demanding to know what she intended to do about it.

Still worse, the reformer had a barouche painted a "puce" colour, one of those shades which so soon offend the eye, and to her profound annoyance, some of the more prosperous ladies whom she tried to turn out of business developed the same taste in art, and the Strand had many puce-colored vehicles, occupied by women with better dresses and more jewellery than hers.

Mrs. Brockway did not find retribution fill the houses next to hers. Government acted promptly. Hotel keepers and barmaids were compensated and the girls went Home. Whether the world has been any better since is as great a puzzle as finding out who do the most harm—those out to do you good, or those who try to injure whenever a chance offers.

Full of the spirit of compromise, Mrs. Brockway carried her campaign right through. To give her credit, no complaints were made about misrepresentation or unfair treatment. With the exception of the Wellington Hotel, a cheap place where three barmaids were employed and their departure resulted in putting the place out of business it is doubtful if anyone lost very much.

Outside of better opportunities for finding husbands, (and that means quite a lot), girls lost little by leaving India. They did not live in the breeziest rooms in any hotel. Locked in every night often meant enduring more of their share of the rigours of the climate, for one can often enjoy something by way of ventilation if the door is left open. In 1888, the hottest year in my recollection, four Calcutta barmaids died of heatstroke. Poor Gipsy Rock of the Esplanade Hotel, who, although past thirty was one of the prettiest and most amiable women in India being among them. At least a dozen sailing ship captains would have stood on their hands right round Cape Horn to win her, but she refused them all.

Hotel keepers were occasionally victimised when London agents engaged an attractive girl, saw her safely on board at the docks with a five pound note in her purse and wished her bon voyage. Before the ship moved out a worm-eaten frump, old enough to be great-grandmother to Mary who had a little lamb, with the appearance, as the Irish police sergeant put it, of having knocked at the back door, took her place. Those were the days when Britons enjoyed the privilege of travelling all over the world without a passport, so the change over was easy. Having enjoyed the first real holiday in her life, grandma would be quite brazen on arrival while the hotel people, knowing how much truth there is in not lost but gone to law, kept quiet, smiled a smile that had about as much cordiality in it as skimmed synthetic milk, and sent the old fraud back to her native land by the next steamer.

One of these women who may have been a shade under forty-five was kept on for a few months by William Cook of the Adelphi. You'd be looking long at a chicken before you thought of her. One night she complained to a man standing at the bar that some fellow had called her a "hay widow".

"What's a hay widow?" she asked.

"I dunno. You're the first one I've met."

Hotels were not the only sufferers from personation. In the early 'Nineties a Calcutta man introduced himself to an amiable girl who, if she wasn't very good was very goodlooking. She didn't mind where she went so long as she went somewhere, so the two set about solving the problem about getting her to Calcutta without too much scandal. An advertisement for a milliner for a Calcutta firm attracted attention. A milliner was found who was willing to go part of the way and in due course the London people engaged her. She got on board and the other girl took her place. On arrival she did not favor the firm with a call. She had arrived and that was all she and her man friend cared about.

Lodgings were found in a superior boarding house and as there was some mystery about her everybody set about finding it out. The landlady had attained that age which made her look upon any young and pretty girl about the house as worse than a crime. As it happened, strictly speaking, the landlady hadn't too much to brag about either, which led her to be bitterly censorious. The new arrival was being hunted while she had to do all that herself. Comparisons between youth and age always lose the game for the old, so the new and pretty arrival was told to get out—quick. Lodgings were found for her in a lane where people didn't bother about trifles but even then the first landlady was not satisfied. She egged on two of her lodgers who were on good terms with her to thrash the man who had brought the girl out.

Late one night they waylaid the man and gave him an unmerciful hammering. Then matters had all the publicity secrecy so often obtains. In spite of the fact that one was a subaltern in the Sappers, and the other



man an official in one of the Government departments, the magistrate gave one four months, and the other, six weeks' rigorous imprisonment. Perhaps it was as well that, by that influence which in India can dam rivers and blast rocks, they kept their jobs.

The man who brought the girl out was also put on the carpet. His firm gave him the choice between marriage and losing his job. That seems to be a piece of unconscionable tyranny based on mentality formed by reading love stories but he chose the course said to be laid down in Heaven and they appeared to live without difficulty. Years later, when the children grew up, and both parents were over fifty, she went off with another man. Well, if you cannot teach old dogs new tricks, it isn't too easy to break them of old ones, but even her husband's best friends knew it served him right.

A couple of the girls caused the reformers some anxiety by refusing to go when passages were provided. Unconsciously they led to a stop in further reforms and brought some business to doubtful hostelrys in the suburbs. The police were not so particular in Kidderpore as they had to be in Chowringhee and the girls, with others who started with a note of interrogation in their reputation found themselves unmolested in the purlieus of the Docks.

For a year or so, with mercantile mariners and swagger legionaires of the damned playing the lyre to fallen angels, some Kidderpore taverns flourished like the green bay horse. Strays and strayed, with not enough reputation to dust a Jew's harp contrived to exist without honour taking all the drinks that came along only occasionally leaving ardent, chance acquaintances to consult mamma about the next day's family prayers, made themselves agreeable to all who looked like having any money. With nothing to lose, they lost that. Khitmagars without recommendations served drinks calculated to corrode the inside to the likeness of a sieve.

Boarders were given meals consisting of chickens of wide experience, pensionable ducks, boiled (buffalo) beef with roast gravy, bullet-proof mutton chops, rat-trap brand cheese. Christian milk that had been well baptized and a few over-ripe bananas. The surroundings were places to get one's pocket picked, or to pick up ptomaine poisoning, peritonitis, vermin and other loathsome complaints from fish, foul, to fever.

As usual, those running the haunt, with consciences eating their heads off for want of exercise, were ignorant of catering beyond knowing that food could be bought in the bazaar and whisky was kept in bottles. Cooking and cleanliness were of less interest to them than crossword puzzles are to crocodiles. But they did know that pretty girls, or girls that were not pretty but were pretty accommodating and wide awake were an attraction to those who live well, have plenty of fresh air, go down to the sea in ships and avoid marriage being unable to endure the thought of a weeping widow on the beach watching their sailor husband's body being washed ashore. Like Clovis, one of Saki's characters, speaking of the

difference between right and wrong said, "There is a difference, you know, but I've forgotten what it is." At best pleasure is the true end of life, and men idling in a hot climate generally took more pains to be damned than to be saved. If evil communications were not always the best policy, that was their look out; the Great Way is easy but all love the by-paths.

"For rarely do we find in one combined,  
A vigorous body and a virtuous mind."

George Washington, a truthful American, is credited with—"Pons Testiculorum! No man is married a hundred miles from home." The poet Campbell said much the same—

"Oh! 'tis sweet to think that where'er we rove,  
We are sure to find something blissful and dear;  
And that when we are far from the lips we love,  
We make love to the lips that are near."

Salt water mercifully solves many ties and troubles. Despite what the cynic said, there are no generous men—there are women who know how to make a lonely captain, 6,000 miles from his wife, almost prodigal in his generosity. Kidderpore barmaids were not averse from a bit of sight-seeing in ships on time charter on the coast when, on questionable terms of affection they did their best to prevent at least one sailor from feeling too lonely.

Before the ship got back to the Sandheads, the touring barmaid began to look as ugly as a Christian and the Captain burnished up misgivings and boredom, there came the inevitable change from sleeping partner to sparring partner. The girl was more or less welcomed back to the tavern where, to make her friends and confederates green with envy, the loot would be displayed (and depreciated). The master mariner, now relegated to a "monster of the deep," more lonely than ever, realising to well that every peach has a heart of stone, with the resignation of a true believer derived as much consolation as he could by repeating—

"The light that lies in woman's eyes,  
And lies, and lies, and lies."

A thousand years ago a Chinese philosopher warned men that they should take no notice of what they hear on the pillow. And no one ever heard of a man breaking his leg over a whole orange. It is the piece of skin thrown away by some careless hand which puts him on his back.

A girl in one of the suburban taverns, obviously an Indian Christian, tall, thin, cold and crafty, under twenty-five, made her way to notoriety over much salt water, and even, after cracking her fingers to keep off evil spirits, never met a man without making him worse. For a time she was a bit of a fallen star in that unpretentious neighbourhood. Were it not that the laws of physiology are stronger than contempt she would not have gone very far, but women who could talk and banter in English were rare about the docks, so she did it all her own way.

A chief officer who put the noses of two captains out of joint learnt that the course of true love ran through hostile territory. It was found one morning that he had been sent to meet the Great Pilot; the sticky details of his death ended nowhere. He was dead—that was all there was about it. A suicide or two attracted more attention. Robberies made even amorous sailors cautious, and one Kidderpore hotel at least achieved the impossible—it lost its character.

Nobody in the business appeared to have made any money which seems to show that while there is no reduction in the wages of sin, the overheads leave vice in much the same position as virtue, which, we are told, has to be its own reward.

Whatever may be said about the social defects of today it must be admitted that the craze for worshipping at the shrine of St. Vitus is preferable to crawling from one hotel bar to another to pay homage to Bacchus with Venus serving the drinks. Ogling barmaids when they were the only respectable women one had to chance to talk to was, at best, a pastime more teasing than invigorating.

With greater freedom women who wish to do as they like, no longer find themselves banner and barred from everything by their more circumspect sisters. There are far too many liberty snatchers who, if they form a community of errors are numerous enough to take no notice of what others may think. Morality has become more a matter of individual thought and the world does not seem to be any the worse either. But it is doubtful even were barmaids permitted in Calcutta hotels, they would be much of a draw. The paraphernalia of social life like other things, wears out. And when all is said and done, the girls were able to support themselves without throwing a man out of job, which is more than can be said about a lot of them.

H. HOBBS.

---

## Some Unpublished Letters Relating to the Roman Catholic Church at Patna.

---

THE earliest Roman Catholic settlement at Patna, established in 1620 A.D. (1), did not survive long. But another settlement was made by the Roman Catholics in this city early in the 18th century. It is said that its site was granted to some French Missionaries in the reign of Aurangzeb (2). Beveridge writes on the authority of some notes, drawn up by Bishop Hartmann and lent to him for use by Reverend Father Lewis, that the Patna Mission was started in 1713 A.D. (3). It was intimately connected with the plan of establishing a mission in Tibet till 1745 A.D. The Patna church must have been put to some troubles when the city became the scene of bitter hostilities between the English and Nawāb Mir Qāsim in 1763 A.D. It, however, began to function from the 31st July, 1763, and father Joseph Roveto was made Prefect Apostolic of the Nepal Mission, the Patna church being then included in it. Through the earnest efforts of Father Joseph Roveto an imposing church building was raised between 1772-79 A.D., Signor Tiretto of Venice acting as the architect (4).

Since then the church continued to work as a regular institution. Hamilton Buchanan observed in 1811-12:—"The Roman Catholics have a church in Patna, which as I have said, is a respectable looking building. The Priest is, I believe, an Italian employed by the Societas de propaganda fide at Rome, but I have not seen him, and I am told by the natives, that his flock may amount to about 20 families of native Portuguese" (5).

While studying some unpublished English records, previously preserved in the Record Room of the District Judge of Patna and now stored in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society after being sorted by me, I discovered a few records, which throw some interesting light on the condition of the Roman Catholic Church at Patna during 1821-22 A.D. They contain (a) a Memorial to the Governor General in Council from Mr. Francis Neville and some other Roman Catholic inhabitants of Patna against what they considered to be some unworthy practices on the part of Father Julius Caesar, Vicar of the Roman church at Patna since 1809 A.D.; (b) correspondence between Francis Neville and Father Julius Caesar; (c) letters from Francis

---

(1) *Catholic Herald of India*, August 22, 1906, referred to in Patna District Gazetteer, p. .

(2) H. Beveridge's article on 'The City of Patna' in the *Calcutta Review*, 1883.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, (published by the B. & O. Research Society), Vol. I, p. 399.

Joseph and Julius Caesar to Mr. William Hornby Tippet, Magistrate of Patna ; (d) despatches from Mr. Charles Lushington, Secretary to Government, General (Ecclesiastical) Department, to Mr. W. H. Tippet ; and (e) list of persons of the Roman Catholic Religion residing within the jurisdiction of Patna.

(l) Memorial from the Portuguese (Roman Catholics) inhabitants of Patna.  
To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE  
THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS,

Governor General in Council, Fort William.

The Humble Memorial of Francis Neville and the other Portuguese inhabitants of the Patna Most humbly sheweth

That your memorialist for himself and the other Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the city of Patna have been reduced to the necessity of approaching your Lordship's illustrious presence with the humble representation containing a detail of the hardships and grievances and which the Vicar of our church is exercising over your humble memorialists from us and consciousness that the due tribunal to punish all misdemeanours proceeding from him, is far beyond your humble memorialists efforts to arrive to, besides that the Governing administration being of the Protestant persuasion, would not interfere in matters of the opposite belief, prevents and excommunicates those who refuse to conceal his wicked deeds, and that too without alleging any cause. And in support of what your memorialist has advanced above, he has taken the liberty to lay at your Lordship's feet, copies of correspondence which has lately passed between your memorialist and the Reverend Julius Caesar Vicar of this Church. Your memorialists are under the necessity of supplicating your Lordship's most humane attention to a misfortune the Patna church is ailing under, which is from the want of its having no Wardens or Trustees as all other churches have. The founder of this church was the Reverend Father Joseph Prefect who not only built it but furnished it with every necessary Embellishment the state of the Funds received from public charities would admit, to adorn this sacred Edifice. The vicars who succeeded that Holy prelate added to it from Legacies and Gifts but the present vicar has been said to have converted a greater part of all its Immunities into cash, and an Agency House (Messrs Cruttenden and Mackillop) in Calcutta entrusted to increase it your Memorialist for himself and all his Brethren the Roman Catholic inhabitants most humbly implore beseech and supplicate that your Lordship would have the Humanity and goodness to take our case into consideration, submitted for your Lordship's information, as to direct Joseph Barretto, Esqr., or the Vicar, Wardens and Trustees of the Portuguese church in Calcutta to select such persons as they may deem proper to act as Wardens and Trustees of the Patna Church, which alone will prevent and check the arbitrary disposition displayed in his reply to your Memorialists' address.

Your memorialist was obliged in consequence of the Vicar's obstinacy to assign any cause, to supplicate the Magistrate to procure him the

information, which the Vicar refused to give but that gentleman informed your Memorialist he could not interfere, but referred him to lay his case at your Lordship's feet as being the Supreme Head to remedy all nature of grievances.

It would be undelicate and undecorous for your Memorialists to enter into any detail regarding the character and conduct of our Vicar, a few cases will lead your Lordship into more than one can express. His attendance has been required by persons at the gasp of death to perform the duties necessary on that occasion, have been suffered to die rather than he should forsake the card table to attend to their calls. Again persons having money on sending for him on such occasions have been attended to, whilst others in indigent circumstances have been neglected and refused that office and their remains have consequently received interment in the English burial ground. Secrecy is valuable in a priest but little confidence is placed, please your Lordship, in the words or oath of the Vicar of this Church. Again a Bungalow situated at Bankipur was dedicated to religious worship by Mrs. Droz, is now rented to a merchant for public Warehouse and your memorialist and others sincerely regret that the House of God is thus sacrilegiously dishonoured.

Your memorialist and others therefore most humbly pray, that since we have no protector but your Lordship, your Lordship will humanely condescend to comply with the Prayer, and to direct the Magistrate at this place to carry such resolutions as your Excellency in Council will deem meet to issue, to rescue your humble subjects from their present bondage.

And your Memorialists as in duty bound

Patna, 8th December,  
1821

Signed : Francis Neville  
Ignatius Mendes  
Anthony Mendes  
Jacob John  
Jaslampier  
Augustin Gracias  
Jacob Narenberg  
Dominie Iza  
J. I. D. Pamera  
C. Campier  
S. D. Abreo  
A. D. Abreo  
R. S. Mello  
F. Shavier (not clear)  
C. Shavier  
Joseph Shavier  
John Anthony  
J. O. Breen (or Brien)  
S. Reymond  
W. M. Wilson  
W. Setts.

(2) To

THE REVEREND JULIUS CAESAR  
Vicar of the Romish Church  
City of Patna.

Reverend Sir,

It is with respect I have presumed to take the liberty of addressing you this letter, recalling to your recollection that it is the duty of every individual entrusted to our care to lay all grievances one brother may be ailing under by any unchristian like conduct of another for, you to correct, admonish and reconcile, but Reverend Sir, how is an individual to act, when his Pastor should be the injurer. A judge presiding over an Earthly Court first informs the guilty with the nature of his offence, and then proceeds to pronounce the attendant punishment. Your Reverend is my spiritual Guide without acquainting me with the nature of my offence, to forbid me entrance into a place ordained by the Creator for his creatures to resort to, to the cleansing of their sins, I implored the assistance of my friends to intercede in my behalf, and if possible to ascertain the nature of my offence, but you have positively resolved to keep the secret to yourself and because I remained silent on the occasion after the intercessions of my friends, you have been pleased now after two years to forbid my wife admittance last Sunday the 18th instant. Reverend Sir, since we are sensible the authorities you are assuming are contrary to the Law of God and reason so as to proceed to debar any person from attending a House not your own, but, of Him whose ordinances you are impelled by your Orders to expound and explain. If I have erred tell me of my offence that I may mend, but this even you will not condescend to do. We are Roman Catholics but thanks be to God we are under British protection. Although the Government will not interfere with matters of our Religion, but when it shall once be informed, that you are acting under arbitrary principles with your Congregation, because the church of Rome is not close to notice your actions and afford them redress, Government will certainly patronize our grievances and place the management of the Church on the same principles as is in Calcutta and elsewhere with its congregation. I solicit your early reply.

I am

F. Neville.

Patna  
21st Nov., 1821.

(3) To

Mr. NEVILLE

Sir,

This moment has brought me your letter. The grievances you are inclined to lay before me of yourself and your wife's being prevented from getting admittance into my church, might have been better adapted to your purpose, if a reformation in your principles and conduct was at all manifest.

Your too guilty conscience will be your own accuser and to it I refer you for the nature of your offences. That they are injurious to the extreme is beyond a doubt and sufficiently warranted my proceedings which suggested itself to me after a mature consideration. As an absolute director of this church I do not find myself at all required to come to any explanation with you. Enough that it convinces me that I have acted throughout consistent to exemplary Justice. The British Government will I hope also offer protection to the Pastor against the injuries of the unworthy. I am

Patna 21st Nov.,

Father Julius Caesar.

1821.

(4) To

THE REVEREND JULIAS CAESAR  
Vicar of the Romish Church  
City of Patna

Reverend Sir,

I have received your letter of the 21st instant in answer to mine of the same date, and beg to observe it conveys no reply in answer to my requisition which was to know whether Mrs. Neville and myself could be allowed to attend the Divine Service, as also to assign the cause of our prohibition.

With respect to the grievances you complain of, I should be glad to know in what point or manner I have offended you, and the nature of them as I am conscious of none, and I shall be ready and happy to make you suitable acknowledgments. Should you not be disposed to disclose your sentiments in writing, will you have the goodness to convene a meeting and let my guilt be canvassed by them, and if within their judgment offence should fall to my door, my readiness to make the due atonement will advocate for the sorrow we feel in being debarred the performance of that duty in which rests the pride happiness and glory of mankind. My last prayer is that you will have the condescension to set this matter right as speedily as in your power possible.

F. Neville

Patna 22nd Nov.,

1821.

(5) Mr. NEVILLE,

In reply to your of this day, I have to say that no consideration will urge with me to remove the prohibition in question as I know it will thus be preventive of many future disagreeableness which are likely to arise in your, or yours having communication in the congregation of my church. Save yourself and me further trouble.

Patna 23rd Nov.,

Julias Caesar.

1821.



(6) To

W. H. TIPPET Esq.,  
Judge and Magistrate of Patna.

The Humble Petition of Francis Neville.

Most humbly sheweth

With respect and submission your petitioner has taken the liberty to trespass on your goodness with copies of the following communication which has lately taken place between your Petitioner and the Reverend Julius Caesar Vicar of the Portuguese Church ; and after perusal of the Documents herewith submitted your Petitioner prays your goodness will condescend to send for, and require him to deliver both mine and Mrs. Neville's offences, for which we are debarred from attending Divine Services.

Your Petitioner lastly prays that in the event, of the said Reverend Julius Caesar's refusing to afford your auspices the explanation required, you will generously condescend to patronize our case by referring it to such authorities from which the arbitrary spirit of this Pastor against his flock may be duly remedied.

F. Neville.

Patna the 24th Nov.,  
1821.

(7) "I am directed to transmit to you for your information the enclosed copy of a Memorial from Mr. Francis Neville and other Roman Catholic inhabitants of Patna and of its enclosures.

You will be pleased to ascertain and report the number and rank of the Roman Catholic Inhabitants at Patna, and state your opinion on the enclosed Document generally for the consideration of Government". (From C. Lushington, Secretary to Government, General Dept., 11th January, 1822, to W. H. Tippet).

(8) To

W. H. TIPPET,  
Magistrate of Patna.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your letter of the 25th ultimo with a copy of the Secretary Lushington's letter and a transcript also of the Memorial therein referred to calling upon me for such explanation as I may have to submit through you for the information of the Most Noble the Right Honble Governor General in Council.

(2nd.) You will be pleased in the first place to remark that the Memorial in question though speaking for the whole of the Roman Catholic community yet the most part of them, and the respectable portion, have omitted their signatures ; that those who have come forward with the allegations against

me are also for the most part youth under age, who probably have been deveyed to put their names, either by labouring under a false supposition, or by a misconception into which they may have been led by Mr. Neville. Others are malcontents who have served me as domestics and for some misdemeanours were expelled from service. The rest are generally people of exceptionable characters, and quite dependents to Mr. Neville and even of a different persuasion from that church whose cause they seem to espouse and to whose ministers they impute shame wholly concerted upon malicious principles and false imputations. Mr. Neville himself is a native of Nepal of a very low origin, and was converted into christianity by one of my Antecessors, but little or no faith can be placed on his integrity or principles. That he has been for these last 3 or 4 years consistent with the constitution of my religion and the orders vested in ministers, interdicted, and after that excommunicated in consequence of some abuse of the Roman Catholic tenets, and afterwards manifesting an obstinate and perverse disposition thereto, and I beg leave to urge further that I should be wholly wanting in my duty if I did not act up consonantly with good example and strict discipline in the disposition of the affairs of my religion with which I stand charged in the eyes of both God and man ; further M. N. . . . misconstrues this strict observance of my duty into a matter of grievance and sets it forth under an artful representation as a crime against me before Government. Else to the two replies alluded to by him, I beg leave to say that in writing them I was entirely guided by the dictates of my conscience, as it did not behave him to demand any further explanation when he was personally apprised of his fault, and excommunicated. It is a rule laid down in all the churches following the Roman Catholic System both here and in all Europe that when an interdict excommunicated is sensible of his errors and solicits for reconciliation he goes by it agreeable to the form and rites adopted by the Documerric (?) Councils. But as he Mr. N. did not manifest a true spirit of reformation and humility in the regular manner of form I could not as a Minister swerve from anyone of the laws and rules which I have laid down for my guidance from the superior authority, without violating all the ends and purposes for which they are made. But I fear that were I to enter into a detail here of all the manners, rites, and customs, or privileges, of the Roman Catholic Religion, I should not only appear too prolix but also digress from the subject I am called upon to answer.

3rd. Having in some measure explained the ranks and qualities of my opponents, which will stand the test of every scrutiny, as also the basis on which they act I will now call your attention by expunging the origin of the Patna Church, its immunity etc. I solicit permission to state therefore that it was built by the late Reverend Joseph Prefect of this Mission partly from his own earning and partly from a resource received from the Court of Rome, viz., from propaganda (?) side, and during his life time it remained under his exclusive control. After his failure, his successors before me have been many and have also had indisputed authority. My Mission here commenced in the year 1809, and I have followed up in everything agreeable to rights and precedence. No particular or public fund was ever invested in this

Church, and notwithstanding that the monthly income is hardly equivalent to support a clergyman, yet the Church with all its repairs etc. are dependent upon him as it becomes a private property belonging to the priest officiating for the time being. The Roman Catholic inhabitants have no vote whatsoever, and they are the more disqualified as they have never contributed towards it nor do they in her establishment. My support therefore chiefly depends upon the income yielded by houses appertaining to the Church and built also by the same Rev. Prelate. But this seldom exceeds forty Rs. per mensem. There is no other manners of income save the casual perquisites, such as Marriages, Burials, etc. If these then are the immunities which the Memorial in question goes to defend, I leave it to be judged how vainly its supplicants have wished to draw the attention and give unnecessary trouble to the Hon'ble Government. It is also necessary to be remarked here, that when the founder of the Church died, he left it under such directions as are handed down to me in succession one from another.

4th. The Memorialists next impute neglect and partiality in my Ministerial duties and obligations, but they have no just grounds for it ; my attention assiduity and care towards the Christians in general have been uniformly incessant and unremitting. I have since filling the Vicarage of Patna, have had the charge of Bhagallpour and Purnea churches also. But there has not been an only instance in which my personal attendance may have been required at any of these outplaces, that I did not repair at all weathers, and at all conveniences, and to that effect a general enquiry may be substituted. It is equally exaggerated that the remains of any of my Christians, I mean those in communication with the Church, have had interment in the English burial ground in consequence of my neglect, or in refusing them the privileges of their own religion during all the fifteen years of my presiding here, and if the Memorialists were called upon to make one single instance, of the like occurring, evident, it is strongly presumed that they must undoubtedly fail, and this misrepresentation become too apparent. I have also had the honour to serve as a Chaplain to the Roman Catholic Europeans of different Regiments at H. M. and in the manner I have discharged all the arduous duties of that office the men can vouch, and the officers too will I am confident do me every justice on a reference being made to them for my general character and deportment relevant with my clerical profession.

5th. This being the substance of my defence I firmly hope that the wise Government under whose auspicious protection I have the happiness to be, will relieve me from unjust calumny and unmerited persecution.

Patna Church,

8 March, 1822.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
Father Julius Caesar, Vicar.

(9) List of the Christian Roman Catholick Inhabitants (corrected in pencil, apparently by some one afterwards, as 'Persons of the Roman Catholic Religion residing within the jurisdiction of the City of Patna').

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Profession.</i>
1. Julian Boilard Senior ... ..	1. Trader.
2. Mary Boilard ... ..	.....
3. Julian Boilard Junior ... ..	3. Writer in the Board of Commissioners (in Behar & Benares).
4. Alexander Boilard ... ..	.....
5. Lewis Boilard ... ..	.....
6. Richard Boilard ... ..	.....
7. Emelea Boilard ... ..	.....
8. Eleza Boilard ... ..	.....
9. Antoinette Boilard ... ..	.....
10. Joseph Dacosta ... ..	10. Pensioner.
11. Samuel Dacosta ... ..	11. Registrar in the Collector's office.
12. Joseph Dacosta Junior ... ..	12. Writer in the Board of Commissioners.
13. Ephraim Dacosta ... ..	13. Writer in the Collector's office.
14. John Nicolas Vincent ... ..	.....
15. John Leblane ... ..	.....
16. Jane Le Breton widow ... ..	.....
17. Francis Le Vache ... ..	.....
18. Francis D' Almeida ... ..	.....
19. Joseph D' Almeida ... ..	.....
20. Anthony D' Almeida ... ..	.....
21. Francis D' Almeda ... ..	.....
22. Emmanuel D Almeda ... ..	.....
23. Rosina D Almeda ... ..	.....
24. Cicclerea (?) D Almeda ... ..	.....
25. Cicelsana D Almeda ... ..	.....
26. Francis Gonsalves ... ..	26. 1st Conductor of the Opium Fleet.
27. Maria Gonsalves ... ..	.....
28. Bona Panon Widow ... ..	.....
29. Eleza Panon ... ..	.....
30. Mrs. Josephina F. Arnold widow ... ..	.....
31. Maria Hurd ... ..	.....
32. I. I. Anger ... ..	32. Indigo-planter.
33. Andrew Jewell Junior ... ..	33. Writer in the Board of Commissioners.
34. Mrs. Sarah Jewell ... ..	.....
35. Diogo Ioze D' Abreo ... ..	.....

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Profession.</i>
36. Mary D' Roza ... ..	.....
37. Maria ... ..	.....
38. Maria—wife of Marca ... ..	.....
39. Agosteno ... ..	.....
40. Irene ... ..	.....
41. Venceslao (?) ... ..	.....
42. Maria Boylard ... ..	.....
43. Antonia—wife of Venceslao ... ..	.....
44. Andrew Curtis ... ..	.....
45. Antonia Curtis ... ..	.....
46. Avet Joannis ... ..	.....
47. Adelaide Le Breton ... ..	.....
48. Francis Shavier ... ..	48. Underwriter in the Collec- tor's office.
49. Charles Shavier ... ..	.....
50. Joseph Shavier ... ..	.....
51. Seraphin with 4 children ... ..	.....
52. Joao with one child ... ..	.....
53. Fernanda D' Cruz ... ..	.....
54. Andrew D' Cruz ... ..	.....
55. Anthony D' Cruz ... ..	.....
56. Maria Macfarlane ... ..	.....
57. Mrs. Burnet widow ... ..	.....
58. Mrs. Abegail Dacosta ... ..	.....
59. Mrs. Francis Bell ... ..	.....
60. Stephano with one child ... ..	.....
61. Sufana ... ..	.....
62. Antonia Magdelana ... ..	.....
63. Jacob with one child ... ..	.....
64. Joana ... ..	.....
65. Prospere ... ..	.....
66. Cecelia ... ..	.....
67. Domingo Prospere ... ..	.....
68. Flora ... ..	.....
69. Anna Isabella with 3 children ... ..	.....
70. Joao ... ..	.....
71. Marea ... ..	.....
72. Catherina ... ..	.....
73. Jacob Nuremberg ... ..	73. Pensioner.
74. Isabella Nuremberg ... ..	.....
75. Gulia Nuremberg ... ..	.....
76. Lewis D' Abreo ... ..	.....
77. Anthony D' Abreo ... ..	.....
78. Rolanda D' Abreo ... ..	.....
79. Maria D' Mello ... ..	.....

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Profession.</i>
80. Henry Hill ... ..	.....
81. Mrs. Hill ... ..	.....
82. Anna Maria ... ..	.....
83. Pareera D' Macaye ... ..	.....
84. Matilda King Manuel ... ..	.....
85. Anna D' Silva widow with 4 children ... ..	.....
86. Dimingo D' Silva ... ..	.....
87. Isabella D' Abreo ... ..	.....
88. Feliciana Joao ... ..	.....
89. Maria ... ..	.....
90. Pascola ... ..	.....
91. Antony ... ..	.....
92. Marian Juagim ... ..	.....
93. Maria James ... ..	.....
94. Sibasteao Rodrigney ... ..	.....
95. Rita ... ..	.....
96. Elizabeth Cole Rodrigney ... ..	.....
97. Charlotte Rodrigney ... ..	.....
98. Ensebe ... ..	.....
99. Oppertune ... ..	.....
100. Gerfrude ... ..	.....
101. Joao Dubboi ... ..	.....
102. A. S. D' Costa ... ..	.....
103. Mrs. S. D' Costa ... ..	.....
104. Lewis D' Costa ... ..	.....
105. Maria Bowbear ... ..	.....
106. Mrs. Machenzie ... ..	.....
107. Antony D' Souza ... ..	.....
108. Ioze D' Souza ... ..	.....
109. Manuel Pereira ... ..	.....
110. John Augustine ... ..	.....
111. Simon D' Cruz ... ..	.....
112. John Carvelle ... ..	.....
113. Robert Gomes Senior ... ..	113. Inhabitant at Chupra.
114. Robert Gomes Junior ... ..	.....
115. Mrs. Engenia Gomes ... ..	.....
116. Bonafaceo Gomes ... ..	.....

(10) "Government having received a further communication from Mr. F. Neville complaining of the conduct of the Reverend Julius Caesar I am directed to desire that you will apprise Mr. Neville that it is not the intention of the Governor General in Council to take any notice of that representation." (Letter from C. Lushington, Chief Secretary to Government in the General Department (Ecclesiastical) to W. H. Tippet, 30th May, 1822).

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

## Cadets.

(Continued from Vol. LII, Part II, page 104).

---

"The *Anno Domini* left out,  
The fear of making *people* pout,  
The hero of the tale appears,  
Leaving his dad and mum in tears.  
The boy would almost seem a fool,  
For he has only come from school,  
Is glad to quit both *books* and *raps*.  
His kit's packed up, and off he's set  
To try his fortune—a cadet.  
On board of ship, without a friend,  
He takes a view of the *land's end* ;  
A place—and what a luckless bore,—  
He's doom'd to visit never more."

"*Qui Hi.*"

(1816)

**G**REAT difficulty was experienced by the East India Company in finding young lads willing to join either the Engineers or Artillery. In reply to a letter the Board in 1763 wrote as follows:—"We should very gladly comply with your request for sending you young persons to be brought up as assistants in the Engineering branch, but as we find it extremely difficult to procure such, you will do well to employ any who have a talent that way among the cadets or others."

"In the year 1768, the Court of Directors, having determined to augment their troops on the Bengal Establishment were anxious of having officers from the King's Artillery to promote into their service ; and also cadets to be appointed Lieutenant Fireworkers."

Captain Campbell of the Royal Engineers was appointed Chief Engineer of Bengal and Major Thomas Deane Pearse left England in March 1768 to take up an appointment in the Bengal Artillery, arriving at Calcutta on the 26th August of that year.

His appointment did not appear to find favor with the authorities in Bengal, who appointed Captain Nathaniel Kindersley, back-dating his commission so as to make it senior to Major Pearse's, a breach of promise severely felt by him. He applied to be transferred to the infantry, which, he was told "it is beyond their power to grant you," according to a letter dated 23rd February 1769.

Major Kindersley died in 1769 and Pearse was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel and placed in command of the Bengal Artillery.

Pearse, writing in 1775 relates his opinion of the state of the artillery and its equipment when he took over.

"When I first came into the command of the corps. I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of Artillery, from a strange idea, that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of Artillery. They were almost all of this class ; and their ideas consonant with the elegant Military education which they had received. But, thank God, I have got rid of all of them but seven. I have compelled all officers to perform laboratory work at the annual practice.

Towards the end of the 18th Century, the East India Company established a training college for cadets at Baraset. Prior to that young lads on arrival were allowed to wander into low haunts where many of them were morally and physically ruined before they reported their arrival in the country.

Conditions appear to have been as bad in Madras as they were in Bengal. According to "Munro's Narrative" "upon their arrival in the country, (in 1780), many of whom . . . are obliged to take up their residences in dirty punch-houses in the Black Town . . . ."

The Cadet College at Baraset was "designed for the purpose of giving to young men a knowledge of their profession, and of the popular language of the country."

As soon as the cadets arrived from England in the different ships, which were then in the habit of coming out in fleets of ten or twelve Indiamen to avoid the French cruisers, the Cadets, to the number of a few score at a time, were handed over to the Cadet Institution. The Town major was supposed to send them off to Baraset in palankeens but the job was to find them as they drifted into taverns and other low haunts once they set foot on shore, and remained in them until whatever money they had was spent.

The Town Major appears to have been as disregardful of his responsibilities as the permanent staff at Baraset. Perhaps none of them were worse than their contemporaries in England but it must be admitted that local critics of the day did describe them as "full-length studies of incapacity."

Those lads who went straight to Baraset found, to their horror that they were received like fallen angels in a little hell of their own. Scarcely a lad there dreamed of any serious effort to study. Ponies, terriers, drink, gambling and much worse amusements filled their time. They wasted their abstinence in riotous living. The staff were housed a mile from the Cadets and exercised little or no control. Even the steady and well-disposed were partly carried down hill, and the absence of any good influences led to that corruption of the best which produces the worst. More lads were ruined than benefited by their stay at Baraset, which was "a regular Asiatic hot-bed of ruin and mischief."



It is startling to read that this so-called training college caused more alarm and apprehension to the Government, than half the other establishments of the army put together. But even then there appears to have been an amazing and lamentable appreciation of a problem which would not have been difficult had the staff possessed rudiments of sympathy for the young. Cadets were as neglected as monkeys' orphans ; the wonder is that any of them turned out to be good soldiers.

Major Worthington, in "The Old Field Officer" says this about the Cadet College :—

"It was a strange place this Baraset, if the Governor-General of the time being, with the best aid of the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, the whole Secretaries and the chiefs and big wigs of all departments into the bargain, had assembled in solemn conclave for the one purpose of devising how best to bring ruin and demoralization into the ranks of the young and inexperienced on their first arrival as Cadets in this country, the chances are ten to one if they could have fallen upon so sure, safe, and expeditious a plan of eradicating all good, and instilling every evil, as that same precious institution of Baraset."

They had one friend who never failed, if they went to him. On the South side of St. John's Church, is a memorial to the memory of Michael Cheese, Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, described as "The Good Samaritan", who was buried in North Park Street cemetery.

Epitaph writers are not on their oath, and a tombstone does not necessarily reflect the good qualities of the deceased, even if it tells us what someone thought of him at the time. But men who respected and appreciated his goodness years after he had gone beyond the horizon, endorse what his epitaph expresses. To the poor, friendless Cadets in Fort William, Michael Cheese was all that a good soul could be.

Major Worthington says this about him—

"He was the most unostentatiously kind man I have ever met with, and so invariably cheerful withal, that the very appearance of his smiling countenance was almost enough to chase away pain and anxiety from the sick man's couch. His practice was most extensive, his gratuitous attendance so widely given, that when he died, old and young, rich and poor, European and Native, joined in one accord in lamenting his loss, and there was scarcely a family in Calcutta that did not mourn him for a friend, if not as a benefactor."

Cadets were an unfailing source of trouble to the authorities ; afraid of nobody, they must have taken by surprise many who considered their rank safeguarded them from attack while in the execution of their duty.

On January 14, 1808, "Four gentlemen, Cadets on the Establishment, were tried at the Supreme Court on an indictment for an assault on William Turner, Garrison Sergeant of Fort William. . . . The gentlemen, who were prisoners at the Bar, had submitted a letter expressing contrition, but during the time they were in jail awaiting trial, their conduct was described as

"irregular". And at the commencement of the trial they had withdrawn their plea of 'not guilty' and had thrown themselves on the lenity of the Court.

The Judge, apparently not understanding that the wearing of a military uniform is generally the first half of an aggressive manner, let them have what they asked for. "Three of the defendants were sentenced each to pay a fine of one rupee, and to be imprisoned six months ; the fourth was sentenced to pay a fine of one rupee and to be imprisoned for eight months."

As there was no question for "appeal" those four gentlemen must have spent the full period in unpleasant surroundings.

Youth did not stop lads from being sent to fight like men. In January 1774 a force composed of the 2nd Company of Artillery, the "Select Picket", the 2nd European Regiment and several Indian regiments were employed in what is now known as the Rohilla War. A foot-note on page 38 of P. G. Cardew's "Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army", explains—"During the period from 1772 to 1775 there was a great dearth of vacancies in the commissioned ranks of the Bengal Army. Accordingly the gentlemen cadets arriving from Europe were formed into a separate company, and carried arms until vacancies occurred. This Company was called "The Select Picket" and was posted on the right of the advanced guard of the Army in the field. Sir Henry White, Sir Gabriel Martindell, and other distinguished officers carried arms, as cadets, in "The Select Picket".

In the "Memoir of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake—1744-1808 by Colonel Hugh Pearce", is a brief account of the career of Major-General Sir Henry White, K.C.B., who joined the army in August 1772 at the unusually late age of thirty, and served four years on active service in the "Select Picket" before obtaining the rank of ensign which shows that all officers did not begin soldiering as children. In 1782 as there was no fighting in Bengal. White obtained a transfer to the 12th Native Infantry, then serving in Madras under Colonel T. D. Pearse. He was at Cuddalore in the charge against the French, then commanding the 12th Native Infantry as a lieutenant, and subsequently marched his regiment 2000 miles to Cawnpore. In 1790 he again marched to the Carnatic in Colonel Cockerell's detachment. He highly distinguished himself at Seringapatam in 1792, and saved the life of Lord Cornwallis. In 1798 he went home for health, having attained the rank of major after twenty-six years of nearly continuous active service, at the age of fifty-six.

"On the outbreak of the Maratha War in 1803 White, now a lieutenant-colonel and sixty-one years old, again volunteered for active service, and resigned a comfortable command at Calcutta for that of one of the regiments ordered to the front. As the narrative shows, he repeatedly distinguished himself by his activity and determination. He was wounded in the chest by a grapeshot at Laswari. Major-General Sir Henry White K.C.B., died at Bath in November 1822 aged eighty. Active to the last, twelve or fourteen hours before his death he ordered his servants to put him on his horse for a last ride." Pp. 212-13.

An Irish cadet, finding that he was expected to drill and to handle the arms of a private soldier flatly refused to do anything of the sort. According to a letter in Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" dated September 29, 1781 : —

"The Cadets at the end of the years 1771 and beginning of 1772 served in the country four years as cadets and carried a musket all the time," so there may have been something in the Irishman's way of looking at things. As most of the lads then at Baraset preferred a dash of vice to a dose of virtue, they joined in and mutinied. His army career came to an end as sudden as a Manx cat. Put on board ship without loss of time, he was probably given the Irishman's blessing—"Go away! and if you never come back it'll be too soon!"

Perhaps, later in life, he looked back on this experience as a wasted opportunity. Well, the difference between a wasted opportunity and a cat is—the cat came back.

After the "training" cadets received at Baraset, many of them, when posted to a regiment must have lost little time in making their presence felt.

George Elers tells a story of one of these boys, George Eld Derby, also an Irish lad, who gravely addressed the Mess one evening after dinner. "By Jasus, gentlemen, I am conscious you must have the meanest opinion of my courage. Here have I been no less than six weeks with the Regiment, and a divil of a duel have I fought yet. Now, Captain Craigie, you are the Senior Captain of the Regiment, and if you please I'll begin with you first ; so name your time and place."

George Elers goes on—"Now very many of these subaltern officers were of the same stamp as my friend Mr. Derby. So a man could not be too guarded in his conduct with such heroes."

"Dum Dum" whose epigrammatic humour adorns the pages of "Punch" could hardly have had these early birds in mind when he wrote in 1940 :—

"The Noble name of Gentleman Cadet.  
Whom one of those unmanly slurs  
That sting one now and then  
Defined as almost officers  
And not quite gentlemen."

A duel was fought between two cadets at "Barrasut" on the evening of February 27th 1811.

"It appearing most clearly from the evidence that Mr. John Robertson was the aggressor, and his offence having been peculiarly aggravated by the unparalleled solicitude which he evinced to take the life of his opponent even after he had relinquished his arms. His Excellency the Vice-President in Council, as a signal mark of the enormity of his crime, and as a salutary warning to others, is pleased to direct, in conformity to the Resolutions of Government under date the 6th of May 1809 on the subject of duels at Barrasut, that Mr. John Robertson be suspended from the service of the Hon'ble Company until the pleasure of the Hon'ble Court of Directors shall

be known, and that he be required to proceed to England on board the Hon'ble Company's ship "City of London".

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is requested to take such measures as he may deem expedient, regarding the disposal of Mr. Robertson in the interim, and to cause him to be conveyed on board the 'City of London' at the proper period."

N. B. EDMONSTONE

(Chief Secy. to Govt.)

There is a popular idea that Europeans could do as they liked with the people of the country but the records do not support that belief. When they could be caught, they were heavily punished if convicted of cruelty to any Indian, "either by violently and illegally beating or otherwise maltreating him. Such European, whether a Company's servant or not, shall be immediately sent to England."

On October 24, 1806, John Grant, aged 16, during what might to-day be called "a Rag" while serving as a cadet at Baraset set fire to the hut of Keeno bearer and was arraigned for arson, despite the fact that the hut was Grant's property.

Grant appeared in the Calcutta High Court dressed in the deepest mourning; he confessed his guilt and pleaded for mercy but in those cold-blooded heartless days that was a quality seldom put to the test of strain. Boys, often not in their teens received the same savage punishment as men. There was a case, one of many, of a twelve-year old boy charged with forging his father's name to a money order for a few pence who was publicly hanged in London, while crying on the scaffold for his mother.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw, in his preface to W. H. Davies's "Autobiography of a Super-Tramp" wrote:—

"I never fell into the hand of the police—at least they did not go on with the case (one of incendiarism) because the gentleman whose property I burnt had a strong sense of humour and a kindly nature, and let me off when I made him a precocious speech—the first I ever delivered—on the thoughtlessness of youth."

Mr. Shaw was lucky to have been born so late. Poor John Grant, after being harangued on the enormity of his crime for more than an hour, was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he was dead.

This sad happening created a tremendous impression at the time, although people expected law without sympathy; a writer of the day expressing the general opinion that "truth and order seemed to shed a tear."

The sentence was eventually commuted to transportation for life to Botany Bay.

The utter failure of the Institution, the premature deaths, the disgrace and shame which overtook no small proportion of the students bringing them to the bar of the Supreme Court, others into the debtors' jail, and all into

disrepute, that it was determined, in the middle of 1811, to break up the college and disperse the entire establishment.

Baraset was accordingly suppressed, and Cadets thenceforward were sent at once to their corps, where, under the eye of their seniors, they soon fell into the manners and demeanour of more fitting examples, while the riots and disturbances became unheard of and unknown.

The "Calcutta Gazette" published the obituary notice of the "Indian Sandhurst".

"To be sold by Public Auction, by Gould and Campbell, at their Great Room, on Saturday next, the 5th October 1811 on account of Government, all the Mess-ware belonging to the late Cadet Institution at Barasett."

Captain Bellew arrived in Calcutta between 1810 and 1815. Relating his experiences on arriving he states that having arranged matters at the Custom House "I proceeded through the thronged streets of Calcutta to a tavern or punch-house, somewhere in the aristocratic region of Ranamooddy Gully ; (British Indian Street), a sort of place of entertainment which, in those days . . . was quite *infra dig* for a gentleman to visit. However, being a griff, I knew nothing of this, and if the case had been otherwise, I should have been without an alternative. Dirty table cloths, well spotted with dhal and mustard ; prawn curries, capital beef steaks, a rickety, rusty, torn billiard table, on which, day and night, the balls were kept going, lots of shippies, and a dingy bed were the leading features of this establishment, not forgetting clouds of voracious and well-fleshed mosquitoes."

After three days of this Bellew obtained an advance of 150 sicca rupees and moved into "four bare walls and a *pucka* floor in the South Barracks of Fort William".

His description of social life there is interesting. "The South Barracks is one of the several ranges within the Fort, and allotted principally to the accommodation of unmarried subs. . . . Here I had a practical illustration of the ill-working of the social system. . . . The passage was resounding and reverberating, and each occupant of a quarter had much of the benefit of his neighbour's flute, fiddle, or French horn : shoe brushings, occasional yells of servants undergoing the discipline of first or cane, jolly ensigns and cadets clattering up and down, cracking horsewhips, whistling, the arrival of files of coolies laden with purchases from China Bazaar . . . pleasantly varied by interminable wranglings about payment."

Miss Emma Roberts, in "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan", states :—

Cadets, formerly, on their arrival at Calcutta, were permitted to travel alone, or in company with other lads, as raw and as ignorant as themselves, to the places of their destination ; but this is no longer the case. Inexperienced boys, ripe and ready for all sorts of mischief, were found to be woeful mismanagers of their own concerns, and to be too ready to trespass on the rights and privileges of the natives ; they rarely penetrated far into the

interior without getting into some scrape, the least of their exploits being the squandering of all their money at the first halt upon the road, with the consequence of depending upon their skill in foraging for the remainder of the journey. Cheated by dishonest natives, they were apt to take revenge upon those who were so unfortunate as to fall into their clutches ; and considering all the surrounding temptations, it is only wonderful that so few outrages were committed by the wild youth let loose in a foreign country, and inflated with the idea of their own importance. Many amusing narratives may be gathered from the sober lips of veterans, pleased to recall the sports and frolics of their boyish days ; but tragic incidents sometimes occurred, and it was at length found expedient to appoint cadets, posted to regiments stationed at distant places, to do duty at Barrackpore until they could be sent up the river under the care of an experienced officer. Here they are taught their first military lessons, and as the duties are performed under the eye of a major-general, they are usually glad to escape to some station where they hope to enjoy a greater degree of liberty, since, however exciting the perils and fatigues encountered in a hot campaign, there is apparently nothing more irksome to a soldier, nothing that is found to be so fertile a subject of complaint, as the necessity of attending drill, of appearing on parade, of mounting guard, and of dressing according to regulation. This last appears to be the greatest grievance of all. A soldier, even in uniform seems to take a pleasure in making himself look as unmilitary as possible, and his chief care appears to be to evade or defy the orders issued respecting the precise quantity of accoutrements to be worn, and the manner of wearing them. Droll exhibitions are sometimes made by the cadets of Barrackpore, who, ere the first gloss has faded from the uniforms which were the objects of their school-day ambition, ape the toil-worm soldier, and grumble over the annoyance of "being in harness". Vol. III, page 288.

Sir John Hearsey relates, in his Autobiography, that he was born on the 21st of September 1793 and was presented with a cavalry cadetship in 1807. He embarked for India on the 14th April of that year and arrived at Calcutta about the middle of September shortly before his fourteenth birthday. On October 1st, he joined the Cadet College at Baraset, "to study the native languages".

"As there were more than four hundred youths and young men at Baraset just liberated from school, and considering themselves independent officers and gentlemen, it may easily be imagined that many *fracas* took place among them, frequently ending in duels. On one occasion a young subaltern at Barrackpore was shot dead ; and in another duel a young man was wounded near the ankle, which caused lameness for a long time. I must mention that eight months was the period allowed for the cadets to pass in the Oordoo, or Court language of Hindostan, a *melange* of Hindee, Persian and Arabic. This was the dialect used by the nobles and princes of Hindostan. I usually studied by candle-light, as my days were passed in sport, and I was often disturbed by the young men who saw me thus employed. They threw clods

into my room, which frequently hit me or my moonshi, or broke the shade of my lamp and put out the light. I had to go out and shout that to do this was cowardly and that if I recognised the offender I would most assuredly call him to account for it. One close night, being disturbed in this manner, I ran hastily to the open Venetian window and caught a glimpse of one of the cadets endeavouring to hide himself near the wall of the barrack. I said, "I know who you are, and you shall hear from me to-morrow morning ;" thus saying, shut the Venetian window. About two minutes afterwards the door leading into the corridor of the barracks opened, and a young man came smiling in, saying, "So, as usual, you are studying at night". In him I recognised the offender, and seizing the thick quarto volume of W. Gilchrist's Dictionary, I rose from my chair and struck him down with it, telling him to quit my room, and that I should be ready to give him the satisfaction due from one gentleman to another on the morrow. He never called upon me, for he must have known that he was in the wrong and had brought the blow upon himself. I must say that in such a place, crowded with all kinds of tempers and dispositions, it was necessary for a young man to show that he was not devoid of spirit to prevent himself from being insulted.

The college at Baraset was a most riotous place, and I was not sorry to leave it. In fact, the congregation of such a number of devil-may-care young men at a place only sixteen miles from Calcutta, whither they used to gallop at early night after roll-call, creating disturbances at the different beershops and inns, was considered a pest to that city ; so much so that the Chief Justice at that time at Calcutta said that if any of them were caught by the police and were found guilty, he would hang or transport them. One cadet was actually sentenced to be transported for setting fire to a small hut, his own property, in order to drive away a party of servants who were in it, and who were beating their tom-toms and making a noise which prevented his sleeping."

Young Hearsey did well at his examination winning a prize of Rs. 120 and a sword with an inscription on it. "The money helped me to buy my outfit as a cornet of cavalry, and to pay the hire of a "budgerow", a kind of boat used for voyaging up the river Ganges from Calcutta to Cawnpore. The journey by this route usually took from three to four months."

Pp. 129—132.

Hearsey's description of his journey as a lad of fifteen from Calcutta to Muttra where he was to join the 8th Native Light Cavalry is possibly the most illuminating story of any of the happenings to cadets yet discovered. In those times, officers and men, if travelling independently had to bear the cost of transport. One reads that a married gunner, if ordered from Dum Dum to Peshawar would be compelled to hire a 3-bullock hackery at Rs. 1-4 per day. If he was never out of debt for the rest of his service that was of no concern to the authorities ; the financial department probably derived quite a lot of enjoyment out of the gross injustice.

That defect in administration exists, to a lesser extent, of course, to-day, the remarkable fact being that the loss falls on the Indian exchequer, not the British.

A case is brought to mind of a man who was promoted Superintendent of a big Government workshop on less pay than he was getting as Assistant Superintendent. He called on the Finance Department to see about it and was laughed at—those officials thought it a hell of a joke. He asked if they were aware that bills amounting to 40 lakhs of rupees were passed by him every year. That may have put matters in a strange light to those people, but his pay was raised.

Officers of British regiments often find on arriving in India that the Indian Government has inherited some of the attributes of the Emperor Wu, who flourished about 300 B.C. and was known as "The Searcher of Unobtrusive Pockets". Instead of quarters being found for them they have to look for places to live in and pay rent like ordinary civilians. Government grants an allowance which is always less than that for which accommodation can be obtained, and out of this inadequate sum, income tax is deducted. It is difficult to understand the wisdom of such a contemptible policy of cheese-paring, flint-skinning and "besting" of men who cannot protest. It leads all ranks to look upon any waste or loss to Government with complete indifference or satisfaction.

To learn where this policy of meanness took the East India Company in 1824 reference should be made to Captain Rafter's "Our Anglo-Indian Army", Chapter XXVII. Then look up "Leaves Turned Down and Fly Sheets from an Autobiography" by an Indian Army Surgeon. The details are too dreadful to appear in a story about Cadets.

In these more enlightened days things are not so bad as when young Hearsey set off on his journey to Muttra. He started badly by taking with him to oblige a friend, another cadet, a Scot, who had been at Baraset eighteen months without being able to pass the examination. The rules did not permit a longer stay so this lad was given a "stupid certificate" and sent to a regiment.

Hearsey states, "I hired a budgerow for myself and a boat for my servants and for cooking. Our baggage was put on board at Chandpal Ghat and we embarked on the 12th of April 1809 and set out on our voyage up the Ganges to Cawnpore. The other man was to go no farther than Benares.

"P" (the initial by which Hearsey refers to his companion) was of such a violent temper that he must have been a lunatic. He could not keep a servant and came away without any until Hearsey persuaded him to bring some of their relatives. "From time to time . . . showed his bad temper by abusing and cuffing them with the result that they suddenly departed, not alone, and in a "determined fit of absence". "I had not many valuables but my father's gold watch, chain, and seals, and some little jewellery given me by my sisters, a bag of 100 rupees, and a portion of my uniforms were stolen.



A short time after the other servants deserted and we were left without a single domestic."

Luckily there was a small store of biscuits and a few fowls which Hearsey tried to cook, but they lived principally on watermelons and jack fruit. "These latter were good eating when ripe."

A relative of Hearsey's was found at Monghyr, then the "Birmingham of India". A place also for beautiful birds. "He came to us and took us to his house, where we stayed with him for four or five days. He hired another small boat and servants for us, and made P—— promise, upon his word of honour, that he would not lift his hand or abuse any servant. He then advanced me 100 rupees as a loan and we resumed our voyage."

Some more adventures and dangers were encountered at Bhaugulpore, once a very important place with fine European shops, where Hearsey went swimming in a tank and found himself covered with leeches.

At Benares, "P", the Scotch savage, like the King of Judah, departed without being desired, and Hearsey's experience in an effort at courtesy tells us how boys fared at the hands of senior officers and gentlemen.

"The next morning I took great pains in putting on my full cavalry uniform—viz. long boots, heavy laced jacket, cross belt, cavalry sword (a present from Government, with an inscription on it), I left my boat in the full pride of my uniform to walk through the town of Benares. I was quite a sight to the population of that place, who streamed out of the bye-lanes to have a peep at me. I constantly asked the straight road to the cantonments, and when I had gone a little more than half-way I found the heat of the morning in the month of May—dressed as I was in such heavy clothing—quite exhausting. However, I struggled along, hoping to come to the end of my journey. On quitting the suburbs of the town I was directed to the bridge built across the Berna River, from which Benares takes its name. Here I was told that the house the General dwelt in was still one mile farther, the whole of the houses of the civilians being situated between the bridge and the cantonments. The iron cavalry helmet with the bear-skin and feather made my head ache, so I carried it in my hand and continued my way bareheaded. This being in the month of May, the heat was dangerous, but mopping my forehead I hastened towards what was pointed out to me as the General's quarters.

When I arrived I was completely saturated with perspiration; my fine lace jacket was even wet through. On entering the gate of the compound I walked up to the verandah and sent in my card. An officer with one arm came to receive me and I told him I was in progress by river-route to join my corps, and had come to pay my respects to General MacDonald, having been informed by General Toone that it was my duty to do so. The officer appeared surprised at my state of exhaustion from the heat, and asked me to go into a dressing-room and wash the dust off my face and hands. I did so, and taking off my dress jacket and silk stock, I spread them on a chair to dry. My shirt was dripping with perspiration. Whilst doing this the officer said that General MacDonald would be pleased to see me and

have my company at breakfast, which was being put upon the table. "But," said he, seeing the state I was in, "have you brought no change of linen with you?" I replied in the negative, as I had no idea that the cantonments were such a distance from where my boat was moored. "Oh," he said, "I think we can get you a change of clothing, which will make you more comfortable." So by the time I had washed myself the sirdar bearer came in with some clean linen clothes. At that time I was a little under sixteen years of age, exceedingly thin, lithe, and tall. I had with some difficulty removed my long boots and leather continuations, and wiping myself down with a towel, I commenced dressing. When I pulled on the linen trousers I found them a foot too short for me. I looked at the servant and then at the trousers; the fellow's face was in a broad grin. I must tell you that this room was separated from the reception-room by Venetian doors. I heard a noise—I looked in that direction. when I saw three or four faces of officers, and amongst them that of the General, laughing at my distress; in fact, they were making what is called a "griff" of me. I saw through it at once, and pulling off the clothes sent me I again put on my own, wet and unpleasant as they were, and taking my sabre under my arm and with my helmet on my head, I stalked most indignantly out of the house. I had not gone far on my return journey when I was overtaken by the General's staff officer in a "palanquin" with an empty one following him. It was with some difficulty that he induced me to return to the General's house; so he took me to his own house and did all he could to make me comfortable. I had breakfast with him. and asked him to let me have materials to make my report officially through the staff-officer to the General. After I had rested awhile I returned to my boat in a "palky".

For a number of men of mature age to make a fool of a lonely lad who had suffered tortures through a desire to pay respect strikes an unpleasant chord, but in those days it was considered clever,—a subject for cheerful amusement.

"Suffer little children to come unto Me" took 1900 years to strike home; curiously too, consideration for others began when Baroness Burdett Coutts in the 1870's started the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. That led people to say that the English were kind to animals and unkind to children.

First place must be awarded to Lord Baden Powell for what he effected by the Boys Scouts' movement. Bengalis have a proverb which runs—"without dignity there is no stature;" the Chinese philosopher, Chuang Tzu gave this advice—"Be careful not to interfere with the natural goodness of the heart of man," and the Great Chief Scout has done more to uplift the young than any man in the history of the world. Unfortunately, in this matter, Britain changed from semi-barbarism to sentimentality, to learn almost too late that the sentimentalist is the greatest criminal of the age.

There is no country in the world where the unlucky have less pity than they find in India. Much of that is due to social exaltation which places certain sections of British above criticism—but whatever may be the cause

a poor man finds mighty little of the boasted Indian hospitality. Cadets found that out nearly 150 years ago. When the 64th and 78th Regiments arrived in Calcutta during the Mutiny, "no sign of enthusiasm from Government or public greeted them. Lack of food, bad lodgings and pitiless exposure waited upon them until they got clear of Calcutta." Then during the first Great War, the tragedy of what was known as the Karachi Troop Train Scandal showed to what extent "pity is alien to the heart of Hindustan." The hospitality of the British in India is shewn to their superiors and generally stops there.

In extenuation there is this to be said—the oldsters could say—"I went through it all right. Why shouldn't the youngsters learn the same lessons?" One can see that even when the treatment was good, humiliation was one of the amusements of day—it was so easy to make fools of the young.

In "Fifty Years' Reminiscences of India" by Colonel Pollock, he relates that he came out as a cadet in 1848, passage money £120, with wine, beer gratis, "even champagne was served out twice a week." One of his stories is about a Captain Armstrong, who habitually played practical jokes. "On one occasion he was ordered to take up six or seven griffins, and leave them at a station commanded by an old enemy of his. The Brigadier was as bald as a vulture, and very touchy. Armstrong provided himself with a wig. On nearing the station, on some pretence, he left the carts containing the ensign's uniforms etc., behind, but took good care to have his own kit handy. Directly after reporting at the brigade office, he returned to the dak bungalow, sent for a barber and in front of the cadets had his head shaved, and told them it was by order of the General, and that they must undergo the same operation. Thinking it was a bonafide order they submitted to the operation. Armstrong departed with his bald head to call upon the General, but took good care to put on his wig before he got there. In a brief interview he explained that the young gentlemen would pay their respects the next day as the carts with their uniforms had not arrived. He then took his leave, returned to the bungalow without his wig, and alleging that he had to leave at once, bade the griffs adieu after warning them to be at the General's at 11 am. on the morrow, got on his horse and was far beyond the General's jurisdiction before daybreak. At the appointed time the seven griffs were shown up to the reception-room, and sat in a row facing the door. When the mighty official entered, he saw before him seven scalps more bald than his own. He swore, he raved; would listen to no excuses, banged the door, rushed to the Brigade Major, and ordered the cadets to their quarters under close arrest. That official went to execute his unpleasant task, wondering what in the world was the matter; but when he saw the lads with their shaven crowns he went into roars of laughter, asking them what they meant by it. They explained matters, and were told to go home and not to show themselves to the General until their crops had grown. When the right version was told to the General he was doubly furious and sent an orderly to brink back Armstrong but that astute individual was beyond recall. The General complained to the Commander-in-Chief

who only laughed when he heard the story but Armstrong was admonished not to play such pranks again."

It was many years before Government could be aroused to a sense of responsibility regarding these lads but on April 15, 1820 orders came from Fort William to the following effect.

"To obviate, as far as possible, the extreme inconvenience to which Cadets are liable, on their first arrival in India, from incurring exorbitant expenses at Taverns, to which they generally resort, before any arrangement can be made for their occupying quarters in Fort William, it is ordered that an Officer shall be appointed, under the immediate orders of the Town Major, with a Monthly Salary of Two Hundred Rupees, to receive charge of all Cadets arriving at the Presidency, and retain command of them until they proceed to join a Regiment.

"It will be the special duty of this Officer to supply Cadets with Servants ; to see that they are settled in Quarters ; and generally to protect them from the extortion and impositions of Native Agents.

"A set of Mess and Table Furniture sufficient for 20 Cadets will, in the first instance, be procured by the Officer in charge, and paid for by Government ; the stock being subsequently kept, as hereafter directed, at the expense of Gentlemen deriving the benefit of the Mess.

"The Officer in charge shall consider it his duty to dine daily with the Cadets, and Breakfast with them, at least twice a week, for the purpose of keeping up that perfect regularity so essential to Mess institutions ; and in order to enable him to assist the Gentleman Cadets in procuring Servants and such Articles as may be necessary for their immediate comfort, the Presidency Pay Master is hereby authorized to advance Two Hundred Rupees on account of each Cadet, on the receipt of the Officer in Charge accompanied by a certificate of arrival from the Town Major—this advance to be separately accounted for to each Individual, and any balance remaining, to be finally made over on his quitting the Mess, the total advance being ultimately deducted in Monthly instalments of 50 Rupees, by the Pay Master of the Division, within whose circle the Corps to which Cadets are attached, may be respectively situated.

"The Mess accounts and all details connected therewith will be finally closed on each party proceeding to join their Corps, and in addition to the actual Expense incurred for Messing, a deduction not exceeding 10 Rupees shall be made from each Cadet, on his leaving the Mess, to form a fund to meet such expenses as may occur from breakage, losses etc.

"The above arrangement being made with the sole view of assisting Cadets on their first arrival in India, it will be entirely optional with them to avail themselves of it ; and it is hereby intimated that those who have friends in Calcutta, are not required to join the Mess in Fort William."

Which seems to have left matters very much as they were. To allow youngsters who had spent several months on board ship, (often living on

execrable food and restricted on all sides) to do as they pleased when they got on shore was to forget that we live on earth—not in Heaven. Therefore, despite Government orders, Cadets often fared badly. At least one friendless lad died of starvation in the South Barracks, Fort William, owing to the neglect of the officer whose duty it was to look after him.

There were several ways of obtaining a cadetship in the East India Company's army, the best being a nomination from a Director as that was likely to possess the advantage of letters of introduction to people in India.

From various sources it is evident that there was a regular trade in these semi-commissions, so regular, that bogus dealers were in the business which shows that when it comes to rascality—the more the world changes the more it remains the same. Miss Florence Mostyn Gamlen published in 1931 a short Memoir of Edward Blagdon which tells how things were done in 1805.

An advertisement in three papers on May 20 of that year brought nine replies. One offered a nomination for £400 ; two others were available for 300 guineas ; one was for £300. "(Somerville who offers a cadetship for £150 turns out to be a swindler.)"

A bargain was struck with J. Lathy "with every delicacy and secrecy" for £200. Lathy was "of the first respectability." Hatter to H. R. H. the Princess of Wales.

He supplied everything the lad would likely to need as well as everything he could push on to him, instead of giving a sufficiency of clothing for the voyage with a few small comforts, and asking his friends to give a letter of credit so that he could have money to buy necessaries on arrival. But, of course, then, as now, everybody was on the make, animated by the spirit—"we'll put it all right when he comes back."

A passage was obtained by T. Comyns, son of an attorney who was guardian to the orphan children of Peter Blagdon. On June 18, 1805 Comyns wrote to his father as follows:—

"We are just returned from the India House where Edwd has passed before the Committee and I have agreed for his Passage at £60 in a Country Ship (the Maria) which is expected to sail in a fortnight we have just sent in a petition to the Ship Committee to request their approbation of his going out in this Ship as no Passage can be obtained in the Regular Ships unless he Dines at the Captain's Table which would cost £110."

Blagdon's bills must have been carefully put aside as Miss Gamlen gives them in detail. With the cost of the "nomination" and passage to India together with other expenses the total comes to about £500. Few of the items for clothing appear to be much cheaper than they were a century later while conditions were far less comfortable. His story of what happened on board the *Maria* throws light on the treatment young soldiers might expect from the ship's officers. The ill-mannered superiority was general even up to the 1890's when the influence of passengers began to make itself felt.

On July 16, 1805 Blagdon went on board at Portsmouth. Owing to fear of the French Fleet (1) the ship got no farther than Falmouth where passengers, to their consternation as none of them had any money, were put on shore to feed themselves for the next three weeks.

Writing to his uncle on August 27th. he gave the joyful news that he was sailing from Cork that morning. He also mentioned—"Three Days since the 3rd Mate Challenged me to a Duel for a very slight offence I understood by some of the passengers that if I did not accept it he could ruin me for Life in the East Indies—I immediately excepted (sic) it and on the Day following was to be the trial—the night before I had no sleep endeavouring to make my Peace with God. I got up very early and settled all my affairs how it should be in case of Death on my side—we met on the ground at 1 o'clock with our seconds, I was so firm in what I was on, that I did not tremble in the least, nor did I some way fear Death, our Seconds measured the ground and we tossed up who should have the fire, and by the blessing of God I had the luck to have it, as soon as he saw it was my first fire a trembling came over him and he staggered and fell on the ground, after a little trouble we had him on his legs. Again he fell on his Knees before me, and begg'd my Pardon, I forgave him on the Conditions, that he would beg my pardon before the whole Ship's Crew he readily consented to it, a thought came into my head (*if God Fights for me who can fight against me*) and I considered your Letter, 'whether you live or die, do it *honorably*.' I hope you will not be angry for my accepting of it but I was advised by People which knew better than myself, for if an officer in India refuses a Challenge, he is Kicked out of the Regiment, and a number of Cadets knew it which would certainly have got me into disgrace, if I had not excepted (sic) of it, so much on that score." All of that shows that the young lad had a full share of that courage which is the better part of valour.

The *Maria* sailed across the Atlantic and young Blagdon wrote to his uncle from Salvadore about some of the ships in the convoy being wrecked, with considerable loss of life apparently the last letter his family received.

Miss Gamlen adds—"This letter, dated 12 November, 1805 tells the last news that is known of Edward Blagdon's voyage. He died of fever soon after his arrival in India . . . ."

"I end this record with an extract from Major V. C. P. Hodson's 'List of the Officers of the Bengal Army . . . .'" **BLAGDON, EDWARD** (1788-1806). Ensign, Infantry. Unposted. Born, Puddington, S. Devon, 12 Oct.

---

(1) For many years ships both out and home had to be convoyed, and one seldom heard any more about those taken prisoner. Hicky's "Bengal Gazette" contains this brief announcement:—

"In 1780 five Indiamen were captured, with 600 recruits, 150 cadets, and a number of young ladies on board. On board was a very elegant "Chariot" that the Company was presenting to the Advocate General, and were to ransom from the French for £1000."

"There is five India ships arrived at Madras, which has brought out near 1200 recruits for the service of the company." February 21, 1781.

1788. Cadet 1804. Arrived in India 17 April 1806. Ensign 12 March 1806. Died at Barasat, 6 Aug. 1806, whilst under instruction at the Cadet College."

In the not-so-very-good old days nobody was too young (nor too old) to soldier.

Thomas William Fortnum, son of Colonel John Fortnum of the Bengal Engineers was appointed a "minor cadet" in 1781 at the age of nine. He served later in the Bengal Artillery from 1792 to 1800.

"Lieut. General George Hewett, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1807 to 1811 commenced his military career in 1762 at the age of twelve as an ensign in the 70th Foot, and spent ten years in the West Indies where he served against the Maroons in Grenada and took part in the suppression of the Carib insurrection in the Island of St. Vincent. He obtained his Company 1775." ("Bengal Past & Present", Vol. XXVII, pp. 60/1.)

Considering that "Yellow Jack" was king, and fifty per cent of the rank and file died in the West Indies every year young Hewett must have had a splendid constitution.

"General Frederick Young, First Commandant of the Sirmur Battalion, (2nd Gurkha Rifles)" was written up by his daughter, Mrs. L. Hadow Jenkins. A remarkable feature of this book is that the hero was born in 1775 and his daughter wrote the story of his life in 1921. She states:—

"I do not know what the official proceedings of those days were, but it is on record that Frederick Young was gazetted as a cadet in the 2nd N.I. (This is my brother's authority) in 1800 and that on passing his final board in London in the winter of 1801-2 some members of the board said:—

"How old are you?"

The reply was "Fifteen on 30th November last."

"Are you ready to die for your King and Country?"

"I am."

"That will do."

He had passed."

It is doubtful if he was posted direct to a regiment as he was first sent to the Cadet College at Barasat where he met Abraham (afterwards General Abraham) Roberts, father of Lord Roberts.

According to the authoress Young started the Gurkha Regiments, and also was the first to grow tea in Dehra Doon, while he claimed to have introduced potatoes also. The story is too long to tell here, but it is remarkable that a lad, "coming out to this country—a Cadet—a regular Johnny Raw from the bogs" (to use his own words) whose principal qualification for the army was his readiness to die for his country should have effected so much. He was one of the successes of a system devised more for corruption than progress which shows that there are some natures that remain full of loyalty

and integrity in spite of environment. And—the book of the world is better than the world of books.

MADRAS INFANTRY CADET AND OFFICER, 1803, and 1804—  
 “Vice-Admiral Sir Percy Douglas, K.C.B., C.M.G., has sent me the following extracts of two letters written from Madras in 1803 and 1804 by his great-uncle, Lieutenant Alexander Sholto Douglas. This young man was the son of Oeter Douglas, a Sea Captain in the Honourable East India Company’s service ; his last ship being the *Queen*. Peter Douglas is referred to several times in the Memoirs of William Hickey. He died before his son received his commission.

Letter dated 22nd October, 1803 :—

“We sailed for Madras . . . & arrived there on 22nd September.”

*Cadet Company.*—“As soon as I showed my appointment to the Adjutant-General I was ordered up to Tripassore, (the location of the Cadet Company from 1802 to 1806.) to join the Cadet Company. There are about a hundred Cadets here who mount Guard & do the whole Garrison duty of the Fort. We learn the Hindoostanee language & the duty of a Soldier, even from a private up to an Officer. We receive the pay of an Ensign although they will not suffer us to join the Regiment until we know the language perfectly. I hope to join in about 3 months, by that time I shall be able to ask for what I want. We get up at four o’clock in the morning & go to drill, the same in the evening at five.

*Cadet’s Pay.*—“Our Pay is about 32 Pagodas a month, each Pagoda about 9 shillings. We pay 15 of these for our mess, four for a man to teach the language, & five for 2 servants, the rest is just enough with economy to pay for other necessities we may want.”

*Cadet’s Uniform.*—“Our dress is a red jacket with white cuffs & collar made exactly like the Dragoons in England, with 3 rows of Silver buttons in front. white linen pantaloons and half boots, black Stock and Cockade & feather in our hats ; we are forced to powder our hair well & wear cues.”

Letter dated 4th July, 1804 :—

“I was reported qualified to hold a commission. I was accordingly promoted to an Ensigncy & was not that more than a month before I was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the 2nd Battn. 2nd Regt. of Native Infantry, and was ordered to join my regiment as soon as possible . . . .”

*2nd Madras Native Infantry Uniform.*—A jacket costs 10 Guineas, a hat complete 4, a breastplate 5 and every other thing in proportion. Our uniform which is very handsome is also very expensive, more so than most other Corps. It is the same as the King’s 39th and 94th Foot, that is scarlet faced with dark green and gold lace, epaulets, white pantaloons in hot weather & in the monsoons French grey bound with gold lace & half boots, helmet-hats and red feathers, regulation swords the same as King’s Regiments.”



In 1805 Douglas was transferred to the 2nd Battalion 21st Native Infantry. On the 18th of February, 1813, while still a Lieutenant of the same regiment, he was killed by dacoits.

(Sd.) Donald Anderson, *Captain*.

A foot note reads—"A General Order by Major-General Braithwaite, dated Headquarters, Choultry Plain, 24th July, 1800, directed the dress of the Cadet Company to be: "A scarlet jacket made to fit close and to button down the front, with yellow cuffs and collar; three rows of small white metal buttons with twist, the colour of the jacket, down the forepart; twist also to be substituted for shoulder straps; a round black hat with cockade and red feather; white linen waist-coats and pantaloons, and half-boots; side arms—a bayonet." (*vide* Wilson's "Madras Army", Vol. III, p. 79). (*Journal of the Society for ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH*, Autumn, 1939, p. 180).

Major General Sir Thomas Seaton, K.C.G. in his "CADET to COLONEL", says he became a Cadet because a lad going out to join the Company's army got so "mammy sick" he was compelled to leave the ship in the Downs. Seaton took his place. He describes his arrival in Calcutta very briefly.

"When, after our tedious voyage, we arrived off the Sandheads, three of my comrades and myself hired one of the boats that came off to meet us below Saugor Point, and we went off in it to Calcutta. Heartily sick of our six months' confinement to the ship, we were glad to get out of it . . . . The passage up the river was by no means tedious, though far longer than we expected. We did not reach Calcutta until near midnight of the 1st January 1823. The boat landed us at Chandpal Ghat and we stepped on shore, utter strangers, with no one to welcome us, in a land many thousand miles from our native country. We neither knew where to go or what to do. Not a word of the language could any of us speak, and as our boatmen could not understand a word of English, it may be imagined how forlorn we youths, strangers to the world, felt at such a moment . . . . We decided upon getting into the boat and waiting for daylight when we saw an apparition in white coming towards us, which turned out to a native in a long, and to us,—queer-looking garment. This strange figure addressed us—

"Master, where come from?"

"From England."

"Master belong ship. What business make?"

"We are officers."

"Oh! Officers? Master where go now?"

"Don't know. Where is the Fort. Is there any hotel?"

"Tis long way all officer gentleman's sleep. Master go punch ghur" (punch house).

"What is a punch ghur?"

"Ah, master go some eaty drinky sleep bed." .

"Yes, we will go."

"Master give a littil present, backshish, then I show way, boatman's carry things."

They made their way to a low kind of public house, where some debauched looking fellows were smoking, drinking, and playing billiards. It was a wretched place, dissipated, and mouldy, where they had supper, declined offers of drinks, and went to bed. Next morning, under the advice of a not very sober-looking officer they reported themselves in the Fort and were given quarters in the South Barracks.

His description of the cadets' mess tells its own story. Twenty or more young fellows, some recently promoted to the rank of ensign, were waiting orders to be posted to regiments. The pay then, 1823, was Rs. 90/- per month. Those for the artillery were immediately sent to Dum Dum, but "We poor infantry cadets while in Fort William waiting for promotion or appointment in regiments, were, on the other hand, allowed to do just as we pleased. No care was in any way taken of us. We were neither sent to drill, nor taught our duty, nor encouraged to study the native languages. The consequences may be imagined. A parcel of young lads, just released from the restraint of school and the supervision of careful friends, green, ignorant, unaccustomed to self-control, and without occupation, immediately ran riot, and many of them here commenced a career of debauchery and profligacy that speedily ended in ruin. It was through God's mercy alone that such was not my case, and I am happy to say that all my shipmates had equal cause to be grateful."

The good old days had a hard side to those who had no private means. A century ago a young soldier wrote to the Calcutta papers

"I arrived in India about fifteen months ago, and had the good fortune to be posted to a corps very soon after my arrival. I had £120 in my pocket, which I thought a large sum ; and I believe it was more than any of the batch could boast of. I purchased a horse for Rs. 470 ; I paid for my uniform Rs. 426 ; for a saddle and bridle Rs. 60/12/- ; white jacket and pantaloons Rs. 240 ; a set of breakfast apparatus, including every thing Rs. 94 ; a bed, table, four chairs, and other necessary articles of furniture, Rs. 140 ; a small tent, secondhand, Rs. 210 ; and other trifling articles suitable to the climate, about Rs. 300. My father told me to start comfortable and I did so ; and borrowed from the agency house Rs. 740 to pay my debts, resolving to clear it off as fast as possible. An old sub, to whom I had a letter, told me what servants to hire, and what establishment to keep up in order to appear respectable. I had no time for being a dandy, less for drinking, and no expensive habits. I was resolved to study my profession, and set to work eagerly. I bought the requisite books, all included in the above Rs. 300/- ; and after the first month, was snugly settled, and made no bad figure at the head of a company, to which I was not a little gratified

to find myself posted on field days. My monthly expenses were as follows, and have never varied twenty rupees any month since the second month after my arrival.

	Sa. Rs.
Mess bill, on an average ... ..	70
Breakfast do ... ..	20
Horse's keep, including servants ... ..	16
House rent ... ..	35
Servants ... ..	60
Subscription to periodicals, newspapers, billiard room, public parties charity ... ..	24
Repairs of clothes, saddlery, breakage, tear and wear, sundries, incidental expenses, and uniform ... ..	40
Religion and agency ... ..	0
<hr/>	
Total Sa. Rs.	265

"The whole of my income for the last year has netted Rs. 195/- per month, so that I have regularly got into debt Rs. 70/- per month, instead of paying off my Rs. 470, and am now in Messrs . . . . and Co's books about Rs. 1,500 exclusive of interest and commission charges.

"The prospect before me is very bright, and it will be still more so if I have the good fortune to be placed on half batta. It is said, how do many others live and not get into debt who have the same allowance? I declare I should be ashamed to describe the shifts they are put to in order to keep within their income; and it would be scarcely credited that the sons of gentlemen in a foreign land were reduced to such pinching poverty and absolute privations."

The cost of living does not seem to be so low as is generally imagined, while, almost up to the time of the Great War, soldiers were as underpaid as the steward of a working man's club, even if they were not worked so hard.

A cadet on his first voyage to India found that "the passengers we took on board at the Cape were chiefly officers in the Indian army who went out as Cadets before they had learnt much and since that time had pretty well forgotten the little they knew. They were all very civil, inoffensive and unobjectionable.

They had apparently learnt that infinite toleration which accepts without question the various phases of Indian idiosyncrasies. Graduating in a university in which students never take a degree, they lived on good terms with the people, growing up in their midst while looking upon India as their home.

As might be expected, those who were callously neglected when young grew up indifferent to the welfare of those serving under them. Evidence of

that can be seen in the Memorandum on the state of the Anglo-Indian Army (Company's European troops) after the Mutiny.

In 1859 Captain R. Biddulph drew up a Memorandum on the European Army in India. It was stated that out of some 12,000 Company's European troops, more than one third were in a state of strike ; that was nothing less than mutiny—yet not a single N.C.O. had been found to come forward to tell his officers what was going on. The men did not salute their officers ; they showed them no respect, made coarse remarks without being checked ; while the officers lived far from the barracks and took little or no interest in their men.

But indifferent or neglectful they themselves got mighty little out of it living as they did in lonely places with little to ameliorate the discomforts of the climate. One in four Cadets who came out managed to get home again and most of those were more or less strangers, broken in health when they reached their native land.

"QUIZ" who wrote "The GRAND MASTER or ADVENTURES of QUI HI in HINDOSTAN, a Hindibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos," which was published in 1816 tells a bitter, cynical story of the life and death of a Cadet.

"The legislature—and, God bless it,  
Once made a law, they thus express it :  
"That officers—and rank and file,  
"Should go to t'other world in *stille*  
"*Videlicet*—that they might have,  
"A dashing escort to the grave,  
"And make the upper regions wonder,  
"With peals of military thunder !"  
An order then, to *this effect*,  
Was nothing but what we expect :

\* \* \* \* \*

It's order'd that a Subaltern,  
With four or five-and-twenty men,  
At five o'clock were to parade,  
And pay due honors to the *dead* ;  
But as he did not serve the king,  
Sepoys would answer the same thing.  
Meantime the news had reach'd a friend,  
Who said he would a coffin send ;  
Thus was QUI HI accommodated,  
And only for the party waited.  
They come, and soon again depart,  
With QUI HI in the *bullock-cart* ;  
While Goulaub, and the little child,  
(Who with unconscious pleasure smil'd,)  
Following their patron's corpse were seen,  
In an old hackney palanquin ;  
The drum and fife distinctly said,  
"A *jungle walla* now was dead !"  
And all the Indians strive to follow,  
Chorussing Coulaub's dismal hollow.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Hindoos, at their burial-ground,  
 Were (*burning a companion*) found,  
 While skulls and bones were scatter'd round.  
 Another Golgotha (their own,) *Call'd Padree Burrows's* godown.  
 They come to where our youth they leave  
*Sans ceremony* in the grave ;

\* \* \* \* \*

No monument points out the spot,  
 Where *Qui Hi's* body's left to rot.

\* \* \* \* \*

We hope he'll be allow'd again,  
 To join his fellow creatures, men.  
 Then let the fellows who annoy'd him,  
 For preservation-sake, avoid him ;  
 For *Qui Hi*, if his mind's not alter'd,  
 Would have each ragamuffin halter'd ;  
 Nor would he care a single fig,  
 'Bout *Burra Sahib*, or *Koir Wig*."

QUI HI.

The foregoing contains the bare details of the experience of many thousands of our fellow-countrymen ; but every one must have had his own story. Most of these stout-hearted lads are long forgotten, for then, as now, those who wake in the morning to find themselves famous, wake up the next to find themselves forgotten. It can also be said that the man who wakes to find himself famous, hasn't been asleep.

Around their memory is the proud history of the British soldier in India. While it is ultimately only force that preserves peace, the soldier in India has never been used for oppression. "Merchants make war, soldiers make peace. The Temple of Peace is everywhere reared over the graves of our soldiers."

## The Editor's Note Book

---

A recent statement that if there were more bicycles there would be better roads seems to be putting the cart in front of the horse. It might be stated that every young Indian yearns to possess a bicycle and were there better roads in India, not only would there be millions of bicycles in use, but the number of motor buses would be reckoned in scores of thousands, finding work and profit while spreading enlightenment among the people.

The following letter about velocipedes more than a century ago shows that they attracted some admiration even then, and there was, about that time, an Army Order prohibiting their use on one of the roads of Calcutta.

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDIA GAZETTE.

SIR,—On glancing over the pages of the last number of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, my attention was attracted by a little paragraph regarding the invention of the Velocipede, which, it is said, is almost forgotten in England, though only a few years ago it was in "great rage." In Calcutta, however, it is quite different. Those who are in the habit of frequenting the Strand early in the mornings, may have observed two such vehicles ridden in style. One painted dark blue, (I believe) and the other yellow, relieved with black. I have seen them racing there occasionally, and I really felt as much pleasure as ever I did on witnessing a horse-race. On one occasion, particularly, I was highly delighted with the dexterity of the riders (evidently in their *teens*), and with your permission I shall relate it here for the amusement of your readers. Some mornings ago I observed these young Velocipedists in company with another youth on a smart piebald pony, they led slowly on into the Coelah Ghaut Street, while I followed them at a short distance on horseback ; when they had passed a little way, and after I suppose a mutual consultation, (for they were engaged conversing) they separated, and immediately the word "*start*" struck my ears, when the pony took the lead, followed very closely by the *blue Velocipedist*, leaving the *yellow* one a few paces behind, but on turning the corner for the Strand, the *yellow Velocipedist* most dexterously passed between the other and the pony, and kept the lead, notwithstanding the swift and superior style of the former, and the smart trotting of the latter, till he was seen resting at one of the lamp posts, which I doubt not, was their winning post, for there they all halted. It was a very interesting race, and the by-standers, almost all natives, looked on with astonishment. After an ocular demonstration of such a performance, I am not in the least disposed

to doubt or wonder, that the Hessian Velocipedist, mentioned in the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, performed nearly seven miles in 36 minutes.

Near Tank-Square ;  
January 9, 1827.

Your obedient servant,  
JACK PEREGRINE.

---

**J**AMES AUGUSTUS HICKY, founder, editor and printer of the "Bengal Gazette" the first newspaper in India, could not have been so ignorant as his detractors made out. His dig at the grant to John Princep for being favoured with an order to coin pice, is, in its way, quite clever.

MR. HICKY,

Understanding that this Government have given Mr. John Princep an exclusive Patent, for Coining Copper Pice to a very considerable amount, and that in consequence the above Specie is shortly Coining Copper Pice. to be issued, I am induced thus early to intrude my Opinion on the Public regarding the good and evil consequences, which are likely to arise from such an Indulgence. If the sum is limited to one Lack of Rupees, the Copper good and not debased so that a Quantity of it may at any time be disposed of at a reasonable Discount for Coinage Expences, the People in general must experience the convenience and advantage of it. But if on the contrary there is no Limitation and a larger sum should be in circulation, and that not kept up to a just and proper Standard, I shall maintain and prove it necessary, by unanswerable Arguments, that it will be attended with very dangerous and serious Consequences, hasten and complete the total Ruin of an expiring Trade, and be the Means of draining the Country of its Silver Currency, which has for these few Years past been too sensibly affected to require an additional shock. However, as soon as I can procure some of the Pice, I will have them accurately assayed, and should there be any Imposition, I promise to hold the Author of it up to Public view, and expose the Fraud to my Country-men as well as the Natives of Bengal, in the most striking Colors. "ANTI WOOD."

(Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* April 7 1781.)

---

**O**N Thursday last before a very brilliant Assembly of the most perfect and Accomplished beauties in the Presidency Attended by Calcutta Races. a numerous Cavalcade of Gentlemen of the Highest Rank and abilities, in Calcutta who to a man, were dying swains and dangles at the Shrine of Beauty.

Was Run for 4,000 Sicca Rupees, Mr. Princep's Gray Horse, New-pice, against Mr. Touchet's Bay Horse, New Rum—New-pice beat New-Rum quite Hollow.

We hear there was a Race between the two Heats, by a few Pigs."

(Bengal Gazette October 22nd 1781.)

H. H.

---



# Calcutta Historical Society.

---

## Publications.

---

**Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.**—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta: arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

**The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.**—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

**Bengal : Past and Present.**—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 4, Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8, and Vols. XIX—XXIX, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

To be obtained from the office of the Calcutta Historical Society,  
3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta.

Or from the office of the Hony. Treasurer,  
21, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

---



---

PRINTED BY S. C. MAJUMDAR AT THE SRI GOURANGA PRESS,  
5, & 6, CHINTAMANI DAS LANE, CALCUTTA.

---

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE,  
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

---

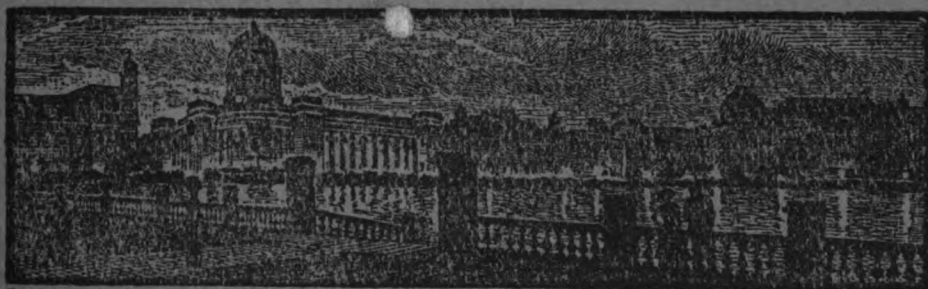
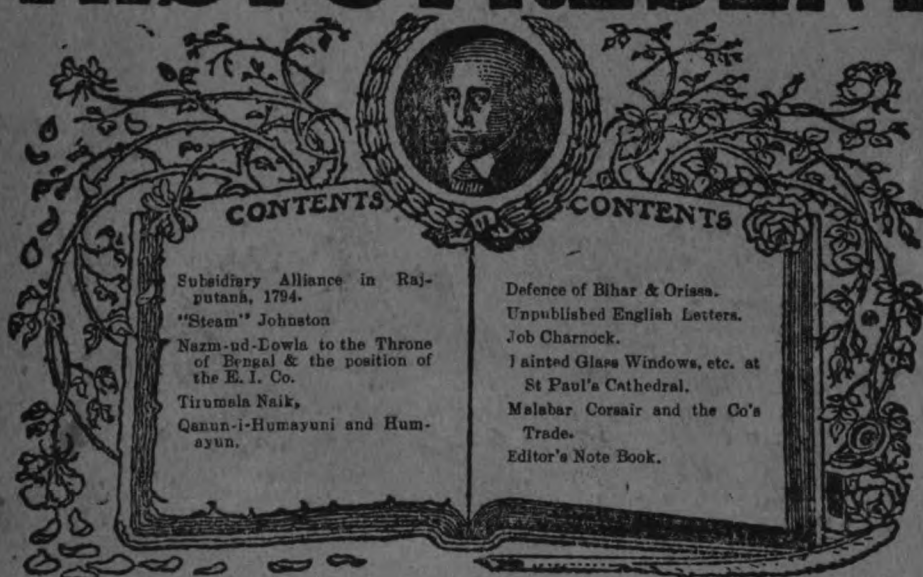
**MOON LIGHT PUBLISHERS**

Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi-24, India

D-68



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MOON LIGHT PUBLISHERS  
10, RAJABAZAR, CALCUTTA

The University  
of Michigan  
Library  
East Lansing, Mich.



# Calcutta Historical Society.

## President :

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.,  
THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

## Patrons :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW, P.C., K.T.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.  
THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.I.E., G.B.E.  
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE COUNTESS OF LYTTON, C.I.  
LIEUT.-COL. THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS STANLEY JACKSON, P.C., G.C.I.E.

## Vice-Patrons :

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
THE MOST REVEREND DR. FERDINAND PERIER, S. J., ARCHBISHOP OF CALCUTTA.  
THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD, AMIR-UL-OMRAH, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.  
MAHARAJADHIRAJ SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

## Vice-Presidents :

MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.	LIEUT.-COL. D. G. CRAWFORD, I.M.S., (Retired).
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER C.I.E.	MR. A. CASSELLS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired).
SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.	MON. HARIHAR SETT, CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR (CHANDER- NAGORE).
RAJA JANAKINATH ROY.	
MAJOR V. C. P. HODSON.	

## Members of Council :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.     | 11. MAJOR H. HOBBS.  |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.           | 12. MR. J. G. BROOKER.   |
| 3. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.         | 13. MR. PERCY BROWN.   |
| 4. MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.                           | 14. MR. N. GANGULY.  |
| 5. DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.                                       | 15. MR. R. MAULIK.   |
| 6. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN,<br>M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW. | 16. MAHARAJA KUMAR PROBIRENDRA MOHAN<br>TAGORE.                    |
| 7. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.                                     | 17. MR. D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.                                       |
| 8. MR. NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI, M.A.                                | 18. SIR A. H. GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.                                     |
| 9. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.                                   | 19. THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL<br>HUQ, C.I.E.              |
| 10. MR. A. LEHURAU.   | 20. DR. BAINI PRASAD, D.Sc., F.L.S., F.Z.S.,<br>F.R.S.E., F.A.B.S. |

## Executive Committee :

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN,<br>G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.     | 7. MR. R. MAULIK.                     |
| 2. MAHARAJA SIR PRODYOT KUMAR TAGORE<br>BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.           | 8. COL. H. BULLOCK, F.R. HIST. S.     |
| 3. SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E., HON.<br>D.LITT. (CHAIRMAN).         | 9. MR. J. G. BROOKER.                 |
| 4. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE H. R.<br>PANCKRIDGE, BAR-AT-LAW.         | 10. KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH.     |
| 5. NAWABZADA A. S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN,<br>M.A. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW. | 11. KHAN BAHADUR G. A. DOSSANI.       |
| 6. MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.                                     | 12. KHAN BAHADUR MAHOMED ALI, M.L.A.  |
|   | 13. SAHIBZADA KAZEM ALI MIRZA, M.L.A. |
|   | 14. THE HONORARY EDITOR.              |
|   | 15. THE HONORARY TREASURER.           |
|   | 16. THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.         |
|   | 17. THE HONORARY MANAGER.             |

**Editor "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT" :—**MR. PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A.

**Joint Editor :—**MR. D. C. GHOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.

**Honorary Treasurer :—**KHAN BAHADUR G. A. DOSSANI, 60, Bentinck Street, Calcutta.

**Honorary Secretary :—**MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A.

**Honorary Manager :—**MR. NARENDRANATH GANGULY.  
(98/5A, Sir Surendra Banerjee Road, Calcutta).

**Bankers :—**THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED, CALCUTTA.

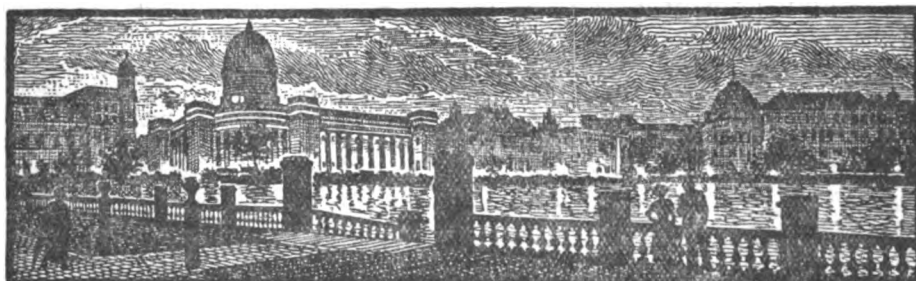
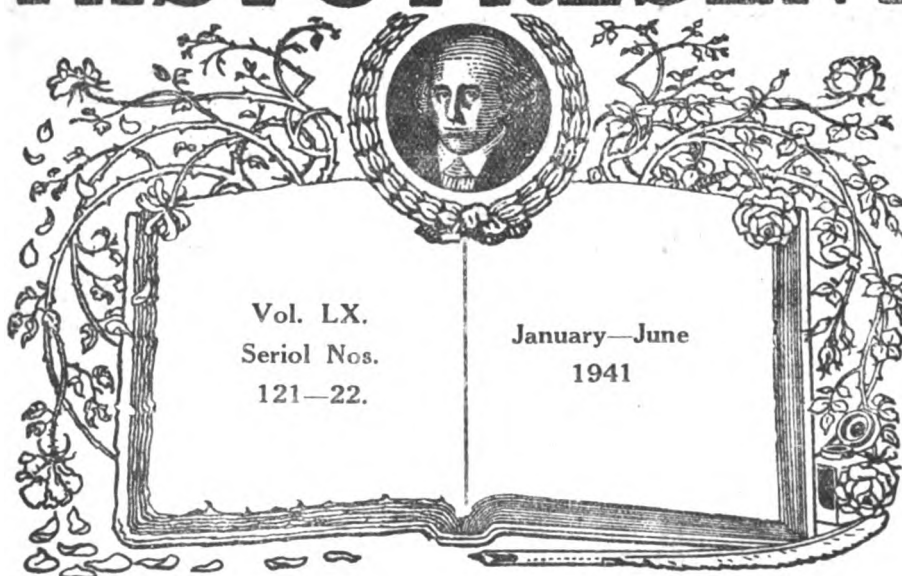
**Auditors :—**MESSRS. LOVELOCK AND LEWES, 4, LYONS RANGE, CALCUTTA.

**Office :—**3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET, CALCUTTA.

**SUBSCRIPTION : Rs. 20 PER ANNUM TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE.**



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Digitized by Google

## CONTENTS.

---

### ARTICLES.

	PAGES.
I. A PROPOSAL FOR A SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE IN RAJPUTANA, IN 1794: By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E., HONY. D.LITT. ...	1-5
II. "STEAM" JOHNSTON: By DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B.LITT (OXON.) ... ..	6-18
III. THE ACCESSION OF NAZM-UD-DOWLA TO THE THRONE OF BENGAL AND THE POSITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: By D. N. BANERJEE, M.A. ... ..	19-34
IV. TIRUMALA NAIK, THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH: By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A. ... ..	35-43
V. QANUN-I-HUMAYUNI AND HUMAYUN: By DR. BAINI PRASAD, D.Sc., F.L.S., etc. ... ..	44-48
VI. DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER OF BIHAR AND ORISSA AGAINST MARATHA AND PINDARI INCURSIONS (1800-1819): By MR. K. P. MITRA, M.A., B.L. ... ..	49-57
VII. SOME UNPUBLISHED ENGLISH LETTERS OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE: By DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S. ...	58-73
VIII. JOB CHARNOCK: By A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. ...	74-76
IX. PAINTED GLASS WINDOWS, REREDOS, MOSAICS, FRESCO-PAINTINGS, ETC. AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, CALCUTTA: By W. S. BIRNEY	77-85
X. THE MALABAR CORSAIR AND THE COMPANY'S TRADE WITH INDIA (1600 TO 1661): By DR. J. C. DE, M.A., B.L. (CAL.), M.A. (LOND.) ... ..	86-100
XI. EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK: By N. G. ... ..	101

N.B.—Items I to IV and VI and VII were read at the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta, in 1939.

---

## A proposal for a subsidiary alliance in Rajputana, in 1794.

---

**MAHADJI SINDHIA'S** appointment as Regent of the Empire of Delhi (*Wakil-i-mulaaq*) by the Emperor Shah Alam II on 4th December 1784, introduced a complete change in the political situation in Rajputana. Hitherto, ever since 1734, Maratha bands had entered that province as hired tools of one or other of the local princes in their endless family feuds and inter-state disputes, and repeated their visitation for exacting the arrears of their promised pay. But, from this date onwards Maratha generals began to march into Rajputana as the accredited servants of their Suzerain for collecting the annual tribute lawfully due to him, which by the lapse of forty years or more (*i.e.*, ever since Nadir Shah's invasion) had fallen into arrears amounting to *krores* of Rupees. One such tribute-collecting expedition Mahadji Sindhia conducted into Jaipur in January—May 1786, with the Emperor in his train, which yielded eleven lakhs in cash and 32 lakhs in promises. A second expedition for the same purpose began in March next year and ended with the battle of Tunga (popularly called that of Lálsot) in July 1787.

During the first invasion, Daulat-ram Haldia, the anti-Maratha diwan of Jaipur was forced to flee to Lucknow, where he spent eight months (May 1786—January 1787) in intriguing for the hiring of an English brigade against the Marathas in Jaipur. Some local British Officers, notably Captain William Kirkpatrick, encouraged Daulatram's hopes of armed aid from their Government, though Lord Cornwallis, the newly arrived Governor-General, definitely forbade any English intervention in the quarrels of the Indian States as opposed to the clear orders of the Home authorities. As Cornwallis wrote to Kirkpatrick, on 28th March 1788:—

"Sindhia cannot be ignorant of many intrigues that met with more countenance than I approved of from this quarter ; and your long residence about Delhi may have contributed to increase his jealousy of this Government." [*Poona Residency Corr.*, Vol. I, letter 86.]

During the temporary eclipse of Mahadji Sindhia's power after his retreat from Lálsot, Lord Cornwallis turned down all proposals for going against him, or forming a protective alliance with Jaipur which the Rajah of that Kingdom eagerly solicited. In a year and a half Sindhia regained full control over the Delhi Government and in three years over Rajputana as well. So, when he died in February 1794, the Rajput States lay prostrate beneath the Maratha heels.

In June of this last year, a French captain in Jaipur service named J. Pillet, made a pathetic but well-reasoned appeal to Sir John Shore, the new Governor-General through Lt-Col. Peter Murray, a British officer, soliciting the E. I. Co.'s protective alliance with the Rajput States, or at least with Jaipur. After a long talk with Murray at Jaipur, he sent him a long French report, or rather *Memoire*, on the history and politics of that State, enriched with reflections and criticism on the Rajput character and the general condition of Indian society and Government. It is preserved in the India Office Library, London, Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 388, pp. 125—194. Miss L. M. Anstey, who copied it for us, remarks on the Ms.

"The writer of this document had apparently a very imperfect knowledge of the French language, and his copyist, besides being entirely ignorant of it, failed to decipher the Ms. in many instances, and either left blanks or rendered the text unintelligible . . . . . Only a few accents occur in the copy."

Relevant extracts from Pillet's Report, translated as far as such an unsatisfactory text would allow, are given below, with two letters from Colonel John Murray, Military Auditor General, to his brother Lt.-Col. Peter Murray, Adjutant General, and to Sir John Shore. These enable us to correct the note on Pillet in H. Compton's *European Military Adventurers*.

#### *Proposals of Mons. J. Pillet.*

I see nothing except a well-formed alliance between the Jaipur Rajah and the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the East India Company if they see their interest in it—that can avert the deluge ready to descend on the Rajah's head already preceded by a frightful tempest.

The least effective help which an authentic treaty solemnised by the appearance of an imposing and honest representative of the British Power at this Court and sustained by adequate forces on his frontier, can render is that it will afford grounds of defence in favour of their new ally, by the show of rupture which his enemies would fear from that imposing corps, always ready to make diversions in case of obstinacy on the part of his enemies. At the same time a smaller force stationed as auxiliaries, with the Rajah [of Jaipur],—who under its auspices will summon his brethren and hold the enemy in check by the protection of his palace,—will, by this combination, conclude the matter by chasing these strangers (*i.e.*, the Marathas) out of his territory . . . . . But in order to ensure such a system of general peace it is desirable that a mutual alliance should be established between the promoters of such very beneficial scheme, and . . . . . it should be accelerated, in view of the exigencies of the case. For this purpose they should assist each other with the necessary means of undertaking it, on evident necessity,—which cannot be except by an exact concord and community of armed forces, munitions, finances and other things relevant and useful to the object in view.



I refer you, below, to a note of what the Prince [Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur] is in need of, in order to fulfil his views exactly in the greatest conformity to his actual condition and the extent of his necessity.

First, a defensive and offensive treaty between him and the Company.

Secondly, one of the Company's representatives at his Court.

Thirdly, the supplying by the British of 7,000 fusils, etc., 2,000 musketoons for a corps of Cavalry and as many pistols, sabres or words, banderoles, etc.

Fourthly, the uniforms necessary for that corps.

Fifthly, permission to raise or recruit in your territory or in that of the Nawab Wazir (of Oudh).

All this on the usual conditions between two parties without any restrictions whatever on the common interest.

With these succours—which are only an easy matter for the power of the Company,—they will put a good ally in a condition to second their (*i.e.*, the Company's) views, be they never so extensive, on that side, because . . . he and his friends, in a short time will second your views with 50,000 cavalry besides the resources of his territory, without asking for any return save a firm protection on the part of the Company and full liberty to enjoy his dominions in peace.

It should, however, be observed (as a condition, by you) that the Company will not call upon his auxiliaries or his allies to undertake any measure without making at the same time grants for their subsistence, or pecuniary or pecuniary subsidies for their upkeep.

It is clear that none of the above articles seems to be inconvenient, especially to the policy of a Power so preponderant and so much superior to all others (as the English Company). From Jaipur (June) 1794. J. Pillet.

*Col. John Murray to his brother, 27th June 1794.*

I have always been clearly of opinion, that the Northern Rajahs ought to be held up in their independence of the Marathas as a counterpoise ; and men of good political talent in England are of the same opinion ; but this is chiefly to be effected by the Rajahs, through their own wisdom, by uniting to resist encroachments and by resolution to guarantee each other in their respective dominions.

It will require time, and a perseverance in good faith towards each other, to make them sensible of the advantages that would result to themselves by establishing a system of this sort. The remote situation of the Rajahs renders us less uneasy about their subjugation by the Marathas than we ought to be ; but as we are not immediately affected, we are inclined to trust to the chapter of accidents, more perhaps than would be consistent with deeper views into future events. It is evident that the annihilation of the power of the Rajahs would leave the Marathas more at freedom to molest ourselves, and indeed make them an overmatch for any Power in India ; yet as the evils of war are certain, the advantages of enjoying quiet are desirable, and this

may possibly make us less guarded than we should be against greater ultimate risks.

A general system for the peace of India, on the principles which I suggested in 1765, can only be established by authority from Home. Lord Cornwallis proceeded upon that principle in the alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas, and if the Northern Rajahs are brought into the circle, the Marathas would be taught that they must keep at home. Until then there can be little chance of permanent peace, especially as we have strengthened the Marathas by several political errors.

You acted very properly in declining to give any conjecture relative to the opinion which Government might form on any overture from the Rajah of Jaipur. If he wishes to make any proposition, he ought to do it in writing to Government ; you should ascertain, as well as you can, the extent of his dominions, his revenues and forces, and obtain the like information relative to the other Rajahs. You must not easily believe that the Rajah could furnish forty thousand horse, which at Rs. 30 per month, per man and horse, would cost nearly a *krone* and a half of Rupees per annum.

*Col. John Murray to Sir Shore, 10th July 1794.*

I wrote some days ago to my brother relative to the Jaipur business in the very words of your note of this morning, "that a treaty offensive and defensive is out of the question"—and I added that I had doubts of the Government's sending a Resident to that Court ; respecting this last point, however, I take the liberty of expressing my wish that you may be pleased to consider the subject. There is nothing more certain than that the countenance of our Resident was of essential service to Sindhia, who had the address to make important use of it, by inducing the neighbouring Chiefs to believe, that his connection with the English was so close, that, if necessary, they would aid him with troops to accomplish his purpose. I had occasion to ascertain personally, in 1785, the great influence which this idea had on the Chiefs, and I took some pains to undeceive them. It was on the same principle of adding to his own importance, that Sindhia was so earnest to have the Resident with him at Poona. There is little doubt that a Treaty on the terms suggested by Mons. Pillet, or upon better, might, as you observe, be obtained at any time ; but this, necessarily, supposes the Jaipur Power to be able to support itself in the meantime ; and the risk is, that it will be annihilated by the Marathas before they break with us. The countenance of our Agent from the Government, to the Northern Rajahs, without any ties whatever, would serve to encourage them to unite and coalesce among themselves, by showing that the English wish them well, and have not any particular exclusive partiality for the Marathas, and if these last should understand that this Government does not wish that the Rajahs should be crushed, there is some chance that the power of the Rajahs might, in the course of a little time, be so consolidated, as to enable them to resist the depredations of the Marathas. If the subjugation of the Northern Rajahs is a matter of indifference to the British Government, measures tending to protract, or prevent, the

event, is (*sic in orig.*) unnecessary ; but if it is desirable on sound political grounds that the Princes should be encouraged to maintain their independence, and if the merely sending a Resident to Jaipur could have that tendency, as the Rajah seems confident would be the case, it is with you, dear Sir, to consider or not whether it should be done. There is no need of incurring much expense. . . . .

The bias which I confess I have in favour of the independence of the Northern Rajahs, rests entirely on public grounds. Whilst there were Powers to the Northward between us and the Marathas, the more distant Rajahs were of little account with us ; but the change of circumstances renders, in my humble judgment, their independence an object of very great importance, as effecting a powerful check on the restless and insatiable Marathas, and being therefore essential towards the continuance of our paramount influence in India. I should be glad that Mr. Edmonstone (the Persian translator) was recommended not to confide anything on this subject to any Native.

I have the pleasure to be, my dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR.

---

## “Steam” Johnston

---

JAMES HENRY JOHNSTON (1) was a fairly well known person in his days.

Lord William Bentinck thought highly of him. He used to dine with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and had the distinction of owning a nickname(2). After his death his friends and admirers provided a memorial tablet in St. Stephen's Church at Kidderpore(3), and the *Dictionary of National Biography* placed him on the roll of the immortals by awarding him half a page(4). “Steam” Johnston did more than any of his contemporaries to popularise steam navigation in India. But fame played him false and his is a name quite unknown or slightly known today.

Born in 1787, J. H. Johnston entered the Royal Navy in 1803 and had the proud privilege of participating in the famous naval battle of Trafalgar. Placed on half pay in 1815, Johnston had to leave home in search of a career elsewhere. He repaired to India in 1817 and through the influence of his friends obtained command of the *Prince Blucher*(5). In 1821 he tried in vain to found a sailor's home at Calcutta but the patronage of the Marquis of Hastings secured him two lucrative appointments in quick succession. He could not assume the duties of either, for urgent business demanded his presence at home, and there he had to go without the least delay.

When Johnston reached London a scheme for floating a General Steam Navigation Company was already in the air. A public meeting had been called at the instance of Mr. Joliffe and Johnston was nominated on the committee appointed in that connection(6). He threw himself heart and soul into the scheme and his investigations convinced him of the practicability of effecting steam communication between Great Britain and her Indian terri-

---

(1) Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay in a letter to Wilson of Calcutta calls him Johnson (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part I, page 131). In the memorial tablet at Kidderpore also he is called Johnson (*op. cit.* p. 141) but in the official papers he is invariably called Johnston and he subscribes himself as such in his official correspondence.

(2) *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, pp. 24-26.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(4) Vol. XXX, p. 66.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) G. A. Prinsep—*An Account of Steam vessels and of Proceedings connected with Steam Navigation in India*, Calcutta, 1830, pp. 5-6.

tories by the Mediterranean, though the Suez was still an isthmus. In a pamphlet he worked out the details of his plan and expressed the hope of completing the double voyage from England to India and back in one hundred and twenty days. The scheme, however did not make much headway and failing to convince the business men of England Johnston came once more to India to enlist the financial support of the European merchants of Calcutta. He received but a poor response and the necessary capital could not be raised.

Though Johnston had failed in his principal mission his troubles did not go altogether unrewarded. He succeeded in creating a public interest in his favourite subject and the citizens of Calcutta decided at a public meeting held at the Town Hall on the 5th November 1823, to raise by subscription a sum of one lakh of Rupees to reward the first successful double voyage by steam completed within 140 days either by the Cape or the Suez route, provided it was effected by the 31st of December 1826(7). A single journey either way completed within 70 days before the expiry of the stipulated date would entitle the successful captain to half the sum. Eventually the expected sum could not be collected, and only Rs. 69,903-12-5 were raised. But the lure of the prize had caught three persons Taylor, Maudeslay and Gordon, and a boat was already under construction when Johnston reached London. He readily joined the venture and as Taylor finally withdrew from it the business was once more confined to three partners.

The new boat launched from the dockyard of Messrs. Gordon and Co. in February 1825, was christened the *Enterprise*, and Johnston set out on his quest from Falmouth on the 16th August to reach Diamond Harbour on the 8th December, 113 days later(8). From the very first it was evident that the *Enterprise* could not possibly qualify for the prize. Johnston, contrary to his previous plans, had been persuaded to follow the Cape route and the coal supply was particularly unsatisfactory. The *Enterprise* did not steam all the way from England to India, for, the Captain had recourse to canvas whenever he was unable to feed his engines for lack of fuel. The *Enterprise* was not the first steam boat in India. As early as 1819 a toy steamer had been built for the Nawab of Oudh with an imported engine, and in 1823 the *Diana* plied in the Ganges as a passenger boat to the great wonder of the country people(9). But the importance of Johnston's achievements should not be minimised on that account. He had demonstrated to the satisfaction of every body concerned that steam communication could be established between

---

(7) Prinsep, *op. cit.* p. 6.

(8) Prinsep, *op. cit.* pp. 7-9.

(9) Prinsep, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4, W. H. Carey, *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, pp 18-19. Messrs. H. O. and A. Robinson are obviously wrong when they assert (*Account of some Recent Improvements in the System of Navigating the Ganges by Iron Steam Vessels*, London, 1848, p. 22) that "Captain Johnston brought the first steamer ever seen in India round the Cape."

England and India even by the longer routes, and from 1825 commences his real career in India.

As a commercial proposition the prospects of the *Enterprise* were far from bright. It was evident that as a passenger boat she could not expect to pay her way, but luckily for the owners the Government of India had realised the utility of steam boats in their war with Burma. The *Diana*, though a commercial failure, had rendered an excellent account of herself as a transport and messenger ship. The achievements of Captain Johnston had early attracted the notice of Lord Amherst's Government. Seven days after his arrival at Diamond Harbour he received from the Government a letter of warm congratulations in which it was unambiguously stated that the Government expected "the most beneficial consequences to the state and to the commercial world from the active prosecution of the new system of navigation which you have introduced into these distant seas"(10). The reference to the benefits that the state might derive from the exertions of Captain Johnston was not without a special significance. On the 12th December, or only 4 days after the arrival of the *Enterprise*, the Governor General in Council had resolved that "Adverting to the great advantage to the public service to be derived from the employment of a steam vessel during the present war with Ava the Governor General in Council is of opinion that it will be highly desirable to purchase the *Enterprise* steam vessel which has just carried from England"(11). The Hon'ble Mr. Harrington was not in favour of purchasing the boat outright. He suggested that the Government might hire the *Enterprise* for six months at the rate of 25,000 Sicca Rupees per mensem(12). But Captain Johnston on behalf of the Committee for the Management of that vessel refused to let her on hire. He was prepared to sell the *Enterprise* for £40,000 or Rs. 400,000 to be paid in England(13). The question was naturally referred to the Marine Board and they observed that "for speed and certainty of despatch . . . . we cannot but feel that her services would be invaluable and deserving liberal remuneration". They calculated that the establishment charge of the ship would amount to Rs. 14,000 per mensem independently of the salary of the commander, but as much of the success must depend upon him" they recommended that the services of Captain Johnston should be retained. They also laid down that the *Enterprise* should be purchased on condition that "her services shall be rendered immediately available by the assent of the Engineers to enter into engagements to continue in their present situations for a given length of time"(14).

(10) Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 11. Johnston's reply to the above — dated Dec. 1 (Home Dept. Public Cons. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 9).

(11) Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 8.

(12) Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 9.

(13) Home Dept. Public Cons. 22nd Dec. 1825, No. 3.

(14) Commander.

On the 18th December the Governor General expressed himself in favour of purchase and Messrs. Harrington and Bayley concurred with him(15). It is needless to add that military exigencies satisfactorily explain the expedition with which the negotiation was concluded on behalf of the Government and the *Enterprise* promptly changed hands.

The running expense of the *Enterprise*, however, considerably exceeded the estimate of the Marine Board. One of the three Engineers refused to serve in India and the other two demanded a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem and they had to be employed on their own terms(16). The Marine Board recommended the appointment of Captain Johnston on Rs. 1,000 per month. Besides this he used to get a sum of Rs. 180 as table money. Captain Johnston's salary and allowances were fixed at a liberal scale in view of his

(15) Home Dept. Public Cons. 22nd Dec. 1825, Nos. 5-7.

Commander.

1	...	...	...	...	...	150	
3 Officers {	2	...	...	...	...	120	
	3	...	...	...	...	100	370
2 Engineers @ 300	...	...	...	...	...	...	600
Carpenter	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
Six superior Sea Cunnies	...	...	...	...	...	20	120
40 Lascars	...	...	...	...	...	10	400
Cook—Servants, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
Wages without Commander	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,090
Victuals	...	...	...	...	...	...	500
Stores and Sails	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,500
Coals per calculation	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,320
Interest on 400,000 Rs. @ 5 per cent.	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,000
Wear and Tear—10 per cent.	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,000

(Extract from Pub. O. C. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 2).

14,010

(16) Home Dept. Public Cons. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 4. The Engineers also got table money at the rate of 2 Rs. per diem.

*Firstly.*—They engage to bind themselves to serve on board the *Enterprise* as Engineers, doing the duties which they have done on the passage out and no other for a period of twelve months, unless prevented by sickness, to be evidenced by medical certificate, at a monthly salary of Sicca Rupees five hundred (Sa. Rs. 500) with provisions to be found them by the Government.

*Secondly.*—That they are to be considered as permanent officers and to be continued on their salaries if sick under medical certificate, and should it be necessary for them to be removed on shore for the benefit of their health, that lodgings or house rent, as well as a fair sum for victualling themselves, unless they are victualled at lodgings provided by Government, should be accorded them.

*Thirdly.*—In case of being obliged to return home at any time during the twelve months from sickness, under medical certificate, that a comfortable passage, suited to their rank of life, shall be provided for them, and a Donation of Sicca Rupees five hundred (Sa. Rs. 500) be granted them, and the same to be allowed in case Government should from whatever cause dispense with their services at any time previous to the expiration of six months from the period of their engaging.

special knowledge, for when a year later two officers of the *Enterprise* were selected to command the newly built *Irawaddy* and the *Ganges* a salary of Rs. 400 only was sanctioned(17). Mr. Wall, Commander of the *Hoogly*, drew Rs. 160 only per mensem in 1833(18). The total establishment charge of the *Enterprise* in salary and allowance alone amounted to Rs. 4,442-2-0(19).

The war services of the *Enterprise* and her Captain fully justified the decision of the Governor General in Council. To quote Mr. Prinsep(20), "on the occasion, having brought the news of the first cessation of hostilities, many days before Captain Snodgrass arrived with the despatches in His Majesty's ship *Champion*, although the *Champion* had sailed before the *Enterprise* even reached Rangoon, she saved the treasury above six lakhs, by preventing the transmission of stores, fresh contracts for transports and other expenses, which a delay of twenty-four hours would have incurred". Between 7th January, 1826 and 3rd February, 1828 the *Enterprise* made no less than twenty six journeys between Calcutta and different ports of the

(17) Home Pub. Cons. 12th Oct. 1826, Nos. 19 & 20.

(18) Home Pub. Cons. 22nd July, 1833, No. 39.

(19) Home Pub. Cons. 5th Jan. 1826, No. 2.

Estimate of Pay and Provision money required for the Commanders, Officers, and Crew of the Hon'ble Company Steam Vessel, the *Enterprise* for one Month :—

Commander at	1,000 Rupees per month	...	...	...	1,000
First Officer at	150	Do.	...	...	150
Second Officer at	120	Do.	...	...	120
Third Officer at	100	Do.	...	...	100
2 Engineers	500	Do.	...	...	1,000
1 Carpenter	70	Do.	...	...	70
1 Carpenter's Mate	60	Do.	...	...	60
6 Sea Cunnies	30	Do.	...	...	180
6 Stokers	20	Do.	...	...	120
1 Sweeper	20	Do.	...	...	20
1 Syrang	25	Do.	...	...	25
2 Tyndals	20	Do.	...	...	40
1 Kyssaub	12	Do.	...	...	12
35 Lascars	12	Do.	...	...	420
1 Bandarry	12	Do.	...	...	12
2 Topasses	10	Do.	...	...	20
1 Steward	30	Do.	...	...	30
1 Cook	16	Do.	...	...	16
1 Servant	20	Do.	...	...	20
2 Boys at 7 Rupees each	...	...	...	...	14
Table allowance for Commanders at six Rupees per day	...	...	...	...	180
To the Commander for 3 officers at 3	...	...	...	...	270
To 2 Engineers at 2 Rupees per day	...	...	...	...	120
Provision money for six Sea Cunnies and six stokers on sweeper at 12 annas	...	...	...	...	292-6
To Do. 47 Natives at 2-4-0 per month each	...	...	...	...	292-12
One Carpenter and one Mate at 12 annas each	...	...	...	...	45
Total Pay and Provision for one month					4,442-2

(20) Op. Cit. p. 11.



Bay of Bengal, though she was under repair from September 1826 to March 1827(21).

Before the purchase of the *Enterprise* the Government had decided to have two more steam boats locally built with engines imported from home. It is to be noted that the new engines came from Mr. Maudeslay's workshop and the boats were built at Kidderpore by Messrs. Kyd & Co. with timber supplied from Government stores. The new boats were named the *Irawaddy* and the *Ganges* and they could be fitted with heavy guns if necessary. The *Enterprise* naturally supplied the commanders of the new steamers as officers with necessary experience could be found on her staff alone. The Government went on with their building programme and by 1828 two more boats, the *Burhampooter* and the *Hoogly* were launched at Kidderpore and Howrah. Steamers were no longer novelties to be admired, but their ruining expense and upkeep were still too heavy for business farms. The Government, however, had found them useful and the Commissioner of the newly annexed province of Assam requisitioned the services of one of the new boats. Probably the *Burhampooter* would have been sent to ply in the river that gave her name but Lord William Bentinck decided otherwise. He was of opinion that if steamers could successfully navigate the Ganges considerable economy in money and time could be effected in military transport. It was found that in 1825-26 boat hire alone for conveying troops come to five lakhs and seventy two thousand. His Lordship, therefore, asked Dr. H. T. Prinsep to go into the question and submit a report. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's report has been so ably summarised by Mr. G. A. Prinsep (22) that I need not repeat the findings here. Mr. Prinsep came to the conclusion that if a regular steamer service could be established between Calcutta and Allahabad considerable saving could be effected in military expenses. The scheme demanded a careful survey of the courses of the Ganges and the sounding of its depth at different points. Captain Johnston had been consulted by the Governor General and had submitted a note on the subject. It was quite natural that he should be appointed to conduct the preliminary survey. With him was associated another naval officer of experience, Captain Thomas Prinsep. They left Calcutta on the 8th September 1828 on the *Hoogly*, commanded by Mr. Warden of the pilot service. The journey up was completed in 24 days but the return journey took ten days less. It took an ordinary country boat three months to cover the same distance. The result of the experiment was, therefore, exceedingly satisfactory. The *Hoogly* made a second journey (23) with less satisfactory result, but sufficient materials had already been collected and Lord William Bentinck decided to proceed with his scheme.

Meanwhile the Bombay Government had also been interesting themselves in steam navigation. In 1829 a steam boat, the *Hugh Lindsay*, was built in

(21) Prinsep, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.

(22) *Op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

(23) Capt. Johnston was not on board this time.

the Bombay Dockyard and the *Enterprise* was transferred to that Presidency. We need not take any notice of her subsequent career here. Suffice it to say that though his boat left Bengal the services of Captain Johnston were retained under the designation of Superintendent of the Company's Steam Vessels, because to quote a letter (24) to the Marine Board, "there existed no other officer so capable, from his experience and intelligence of promoting the successful establishment of a steam communication up the Ganges". No wonder that when the Government decided to depute one of their officers to Europe to collect such data as might further their plan of inland navigation the choice fell on Captain Johnston.

He arrived at London in April 1831 and immediately reported himself to the Directors of the East India Company. It was his intention to consult scientists and to inspect the steam vessels navigating the Continental rivers before designing a perfect model for India. It was quite natural that Johnston should consult his old friend and partner Mr. Maudeslay before any body else. Maudeslay's engines had been used by the Government of India more than once. Among others he saw Watt and Stephenson. After inspecting English steam boats he left for the Continent and travelled in France, Germany and Holland in steam-propelled vessels. It will not be possible to insert here Johnston's correspondence on the subject which cover 112 folio foolscap pages (25). After concluding his investigations on the Rhine, the Rhone and the Seine he recommended "the adoption of Iron Boats, not exceeding the dimensions set forth in my circular, viz., 120 ft. in length by 20 to 22 in breadth with low pressure condensing Engines and Iron Boilers, as at once the most efficient and most economical that can be employed in Indian Internal Navigation". Orders were placed with Maudeslay for a pair of iron boats after Johnston's model and on the 3rd July 1833 the Captain reported his arrival "in the chartered ship *Larkins* with two iron steam vessels and their engines. There are also embarked on board for the Government steam service five Superintending Engineers, five Engine Drivers and two Boiler makers". (26) Thus iron boats with iron boilers were introduced in Indian rivers.

It may be noted here that Johnston's iron boats were not designed to carry passengers or cargo. They were really tug-boats of very light draught used for towing what in those days styled as accommodation boats in which cabins and promenade decks were provided for passengers and there were ample room for their luggage and the horses of the military officers. Private persons were booked only when accommodation was available after meeting the demands of the Government servants.

---

(24) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 22nd Sept. 1833, No. 4.

(25) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 5th Feb. 1833, K. W. to No. 18.

(26) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 5th July 1833, Nos. 3 and 4.

The establishment of the boats was as follows (27):

Steam Boat.			Accommodation Boat.		
Salary.			Salary.		
Rs.			Rs.		
Commander of 5 years			Commander of 5 years		
service .. ..	300		..	250	
Commander of less 5 years	250		Commander less 5 years	..	200
Mate of five years .. ..	125		Mate of 5 years .. ..	125	
Mate above 2 and under five	100		Above 2 and under 5	..	100
Mate less 2 .. ..	80		Less than 2 .. ..	80	
1 Syrang .. ..	20+3		Clerk .. ..	30	
1 Tindal .. ..	14+2		1 Carpenter .. ..	20+2	
4 Seakonies .. ..	14+1		1 Tindal .. ..	14+1	
	each				
10 Lascars .. ..	8+1		4 Seakonies .. ..	14+1	
	each			each	
6 Stokers .. ..	16+1		12 Lascars .. ..	8+1	
	each			each	
1 Carpenter .. ..	20+2		2 Topasses .. ..	10+1	
1 Bunday .. ..	8+1		1 Cook .. ..	12	
1 Cook .. ..	10+2		2 Bunday & Mate .. ..	8	
				each	
1 Topass .. ..	10+1				
1 Servant .. ..	7+1				

It is needless to say that the speed of the steamers behind which trailed the accommodation boat varied from season to season according to the strength of the current and the depth of the river. (28) The steamers in those days used to lie at anchor at night at a convenient place like the country boats and that partly explains their slow progress.

(27) Johnston's Memorandum dated 9th September 1899 Sec. Cons. 15th Jan. 1840, No. 38.

(28) H. O. & A. Robinson; *op. cit.* Appendix A, p. 74.

This Statement exhibits the estimated time or average number of days occupied by a Steamer in passing from Station to Station between Allahabad and Calcutta.\*

From Allahabad.	To Mirzapore.	Benares.	Ghazepore.	Patna or Dinapore.	Mongheer.	Bhaugulpore.	Rajmahal.	Berhampore.	Bogwanpoh.	Rampore Baula.	Comercallee.	Koorna in the Soonderbunds.	Calcutta.	Total.
Month.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
January ..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	16
February ..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	16
March ..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	17
April ..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	16
May ..	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	15
June ..	1	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	8
July ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	7
August ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	7
September ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	7 1/2
October ..	1	1	1	1 1/2	1 1/2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	15
November ..	1	1	1	1 1/2	1 1/2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	15
December ..	1	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	2 1/2	3 1/2	16

\* The times are of course frequently greatly exceeded by casualties, etc.

**"STEAM" JOHNSTON.**

15

This Statement exhibits the estimated time or average number of days employed by a Steamer in passing from Station to Station between Calcutta and Allahabad.\*

From Calcutta.		To Comeralee.	Banla.	Berhampore.	Rajmhal.	Rhaugulpore.	Mongheer.	Patna or Dina- pore.	Ghazepore.	Benares.	Mirzapore.	Allahabad.	Total.
Month.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
January ..	6	6	6	...	10	11	13	16	19	20	22	24	24
February ..	6	6	6	...	10	11	13	16	19	20	21	23½	23½
March ..	6	6	6	...	10	11	13	16	19	20	21	23½	23½
April ..	6	6	6	...	10	11	13	15	18	20	22	24	24
May ..	5	5	6	...	9	10	11	14	17	18	19	21	21
June ..	...	...	...	4	6	6	9	11	14	15	16	18	18
July ..	...	...	...	4	7	8	9	11	15	17	18	21	21
August ..	...	...	...	4	8	9	10	13	16	17	19	21	21
September ..	...	...	...	5	8	9	11	14	18	20	21	23	23
October ..	6	6	7	...	9	10	12	15	18	20	22	24	24
November ..	7	7	9	...	11	12	14	17	20	21	23	25	25
December ..	6	6	8	...	10	12	13	16	19	21	23	25	25

\* The times are of course frequently greatly exceeded by casualties, etc.

**FORT WILLIAM, MARINE BOARD OFFICE,**  
*The 4th February, 1841.*

**(Sd.) J. H. JOHNSTON,**  
*Controller of Government Steam Vessels.*

On his return to Calcutta in 1833 Captain Johnston was appointed Collector of the Honourable Company's Steam Vessels with a room in the Marine Board Office. It was also decided that "he should be the channel for communicating all orders to the Commanders of Steamers and for conducting the correspondence of the Board connected with that branch of the service." He was also to maintain "a proper discipline among the Officers, Engineers and Crews of the steamers" and to prepare "detailed rules for the guidance of all the subordinates in the Department." (29) But the rise in rank did not mean a rise in pay though it must have added to the power and prestige of Captain Johnston. He began his career in 1825 with a salary of Rs. 1,000 and a table allowance of Rs. 180. When he retired in 1851 his emoluments amounted to Rs. 1,245 in all, of which Rs. 200 formed his personal allowance and Rs. 45, "Batta". (30)

In 1834 two more Iron Boats arrived. (31) By 1835 Lord William Bentinck's three successful journeys by iron boats to Allahabad, despite adverse circumstances had amply demonstrated "the practicability of interior navigation" but from a purely business point of view the Government Steam Vessels could not be regarded as a going concern. Captain Johnston, therefore, suggested a few improvements. Hitherto one pilot was employed on a monthly salary of Rs. 12 (and a boat) for every fifty miles. This was found unsatisfactory. No single man could be expected to have a thorough knowledge of so long a course and the salary was not attractive enough for really competent persons. Some thing had also to be done for keeping the river course free from trees and other obstacles. Captain Johnston submitted a scheme that would "admit of pilots being stationed at every 25 miles on salaries for four men and a boat of 16 Rs. per month". He further suggested that the Government should maintain a small but "efficient establishment of engineers of their own" so that such repairs as the iron boats might need could be undertaken by them instead of sending to "the expensive and tardy factory of Jessop and Company". This new establishment would necessarily demand much of his time and energy, and Johnston suggested that a small staff on Rs. 522 only a month should be appointed to relieve him of his ordinary routine duties. This was readily conceded and the workshop was in due course opened. (32)

(29) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 2nd Sept. 1833, No. 4.

(30) Mily. Dept. Marine Cons. 30th May 1851, Nos. 7 and 8.

(31) Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 1st Dec. 1834, No. 1.

(32) Home Dept. Pub. Progs. 20th Feb. 1835, Nos. 17 and 18.

Proposed Office Establishment—

One Head Clerk	...	...	...	...	...	300
One assistant Book Keeper and Store Keeper	...	...	...	...	...	120
One copyist	...	...	...	...	...	50
One copyist	...	...	...	...	...	30
One Duftery	...	...	...	...	...	7
Three Peons at 5/- each	...	...	...	...	...	15

In a memorandum of the 26th November 1838 Johnston explains his plan for training Engineers and engine drivers for the inland steam navigation service. (33) He had then nine Steam Vessels under his control, "all efficient for service". "A few months after my return to Calcutta", he writes, "in July 1833 from my mission to the Court of Directors, several lads of various parentage, but all borne in India had been placed as apprentice under the Superintending Engineers and Boiler Makers who had accompanied me from England". In 1834 some Engineers and Mechanics were dismissed in the interest of discipline but the apprentices were not sufficiently trained as yet to take up their jobs. In due course they proved their ability as Johnston testifies. "The native born of whatever parentage who now constitute the class of engine drivers are capable of much continued bodily exertion and exposure to heat and sun without any of the inconveniences to which the European is liable and under direction and superintendence, are fully competent to the duties of the engine room and even many of our firemen can stop and start, reverse the motion, pack, make joints, etc., etc." Thus apprentices were being trained under Johnston to replace the highly paid engineers recruited from England. The Controller of H. C. Steam Vessels himself selected the apprentices after a personal interview and preferred destitute orphans to boys in affluent circumstances. It may be incidentally noted that the list appended to his memorandum shows that all these "native born of whatever parentage", but three (two Mahomedan Engine Drivers and a Chinese Carpenter) were East Indians or, to use a modern and a more popular term, Anglo-Indians.

Of the Indian workmen employed in the workshop the great majority were Hindus, and Johnston's observations on the difficulties due to caste system are worth quoting. "It is very much to be regretted that amongst the working mechanics religion and caste are strictly observed. The smiths, vicemen, braziers and castors are almost without exception Hindoos, a circumstance which prevented there embarking on board the Steam Vessels, where a few such hands would render the engine room establishment very efficient at small cost and I regret to say that my endeavour to bring forward Mussulmans as artificers have not hitherto been attended with the degree of success I had hoped for". He highly praises the workmanship of these mechanics but they were irregular in their attendance. "Many have their families in distant parts of the country whom they visit every year about the

One Durwan	{	For the Workshop	...	...	...	...	7
		For the Boil Office					
One Durwan		...	...	...	...	...	7
Common to the two offices—One Master		...	...	...	...	...	5
One Bhisty		...	...	...	...	...	5
One Peon		...	...	...	...	...	5

(33) Mily. Dept. Marine Cons. 26th Dec. 1838, No. 6 & K.W.

In one of the appendices Capt. Johnston gives a schedule of Contract prices for nuts, bolts, plates and other articles that may prove useful to students of economics.

festival of Doorgah Poojah and are absent from work for this purpose for a month, six weeks or two months". From a statement appended to the memorandum it appears that the income of these mechanics varied from 2 as. to 10 as. per diem and despite all caste prejudices and pride two high caste Brahmins Ram Mookerjee and Taccordoss Chatterjee were working as vicemen on the paltry wage of 4 and 5 as. respectively.

Here we may take leave of Johnston and his reports. He continued in service till March 1851 when ill health compelled him to retire. He was away home in 1847 and 1848 also, probably for reasons of health, for he was then an old man of sixty. He left Calcutta by the "Queen" (34) to die near the Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Johnston's Office was abolished immediately after his retirement. It saved the Government about 9,000 Rupees per annum after making provision for slight increments in the pay of several officers of the Marine Board. Johnston's hopes had been fully justified and private enterprise was once more in evidence. The Ganges Steam Navigation Company appeared in the field in 1844 with improved type of steamers more like those we see in our rivers to-day and soon outdid the tug and accommodation boats in speed and economy. Johnston had done his work so well that the future of steam Navigation in India was well assured when he left and the Government no longer stood in need of a highly paid specialist to look after their steam boats.

DR. S. N. SEN.



# The accession of Nazm-ud-Dowla<sup>(1)</sup> to the throne of Bengal and the position of the East India Company.

---

EVER since its victory at Plassey, the East India Company had virtually become the Nawab-maker in Bengal. The events that followed the death of Meer Jaffier (Mir Ja'far) on the 5th<sup>(2)</sup> of February, 1765, perhaps best illustrate this, and, at the same time, indicate the position of the Nawab of Bengal *vis-a-vis* the East India Company in the sixties of the 18th century. The object of this paper<sup>(3)</sup> is to narrate some of these events.

---

(1) Also spelt as Najmu-d-daulah.

(2) This is the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier (Mir Ja'far). Curiously enough, the *Third Report of the Select Committee (House of Commons) on the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company*, dated 8th April, 1773, has stated: "That at the Death of Myr Jaffier, which happened in the Month of January in the year 1765, etc." This information is wrong. James Mill is also wrong when he says (*The History of British India*, 4th Edition, H. H. Wilson, 1848, Vol. III, p. 365) that Meer Jaffier died in January 1765. Nor are Malcolm (*The Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, Vol. II, 1836, p. 291), Sir George Forest (*The Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, 1918, p. 250) and Sir Denison Ross (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 377, footnote) correct when they say that the Nawab Meer Jaffier died on February 6, 1765. There are two documents—one, a letter, dated at Muxadabad (Moorshedabad) 5th February, 1765, addressed to Mr. Samuel Middleton, Resident at the Durbār, to the President and Council at Fort William, and the other, the translation of a letter which the President, Mr. John Spencer, had himself received on 7th February, 1765, from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla—both embodied in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Council in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on *Friday 8th February, 1765*, which establish beyond all doubts that the Nawab Meer Jaffier died at Moorshedabad on *Tuesday, the 5th of February, 1765*, "about Noon" according to Mr. Middleton, and "about quarter past one, afternoon" according to Nazm-ud-Dowla. E.g., Mr. Middleton wrote from Murshe-dabad on 5th February, 1765:—"It is with much concern I am now to inform you that he (i.e., Meer Jaffier) departed Life this day about Noon". And this 5th February (1765) was Tuesday.—See the Proceedings of the Council in its Secret Department, Fort William, 8th February, 1765.

We find that Mr. William Bolts has given the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier: He has said,—"Meer Jaffier did not continue long in his new station, having died on the 5th February 1765".—See William Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, 1772, p. 43.

We are also glad to note here that Peter Auber in his book entitled *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, 1837, Vol. I, p. 98, Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee, in his article entitled "*The Mother of the Company*" published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXII, and the author (presumably Prof. H. H. Dodwell) of Part III of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 1934, edited by Prof. H. H. Dodwell, have given the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier.

(3) This paper is based mainly upon manuscript records, in most cases hitherto unpublished, to the Imperial Record Office of the Government of India. The proper names have generally been spelt here as in original documents.

First of all, we find from the Proceedings(4) of the Council at Fort William in its Secret Department, dated 4th February, 1765, that a letter had been received from the Company's Resident at the Durbar, "dated the 29th January confirming his private advice to the President, of the Nabob's being dangerously ill: and that he has, therefore, given his Eldest(5) son the Nabob Najim-o-Dowla (Najm-ud-Doula) a Kelat(6) to act in his Room which is the same as declaring him his successor in case of an accident to himself". And in a letter, dated at Muxadabad (Moorshedabad) 5th February, 1765, the Resident at the Durbar (Mr. Samuel Middleton) informed the council(7) that the Nabob had died on that day "about Noon".(8) "A little time before (noon)", he further wrote in his letter, "Maharauge Nund Comar came to me and told me the Nabob seemed near expiring. But that he was sensible and very desirous of seeing me in order particularly to recommend his son Najim-o-Dowla to our favour. The Maharauge returned to the Kella and soon after send (sic) me word that the old Nabob was Dead, and that the Nabob Najim-o-Dowla desired me immediately to go to him to be present when he was seated upon the Musnad, I accordingly went and after seeing the Ceremony of his Inauguration performed I presented him with a Nuzur of Congratulation on his accession to the Subadarry."

The Nawab, continued the Resident, "immediately after he was seated informed me . . . . . that he would exert his utmost endeavours to make the country happy under his administration, that the Company had shewn a great regard to his Father and he hoped to meet with the same favour from them; that he should not be behindhand with his father in testifying his love to the English, that whatever engagements his father had entered into with the Governor and Council he would strictly adhere to, and that he hoped the Company would supply the place of a Father to him. He . . . . . told Maharauge Nundcomar that he had been the faithfull and beloved servant of the old Nabob and that he esteemed him for his Integrity and Deligence (sic) that he confirmed him in the same station his Deceased Father had employed him in, and hoped to meet the same attachment and service from

(4) See Consultation, Secret, Fort William, Monday, 4th February, 1765.

(5) Among the surviving sons.

(6) A dress of honour.

(7) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Friday, 8th February, 1765.

(8) We also find in the first Paragraph of a Secret Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 8th February, 1765,—

"We have advised you in the Letter addressed by this ship of the ill state of the Nabob's Health and are now sorry to be obliged to add the certain Information received this morning from the Resident at the Durbar of his Demise about noon the 5th Instant".

In the manuscript copy of the letter (as available in the Imperial Record Office, Government of India), from which this extract has been taken, the words "8th January", occur in the place where the date of a letter is usually given. On a further investigation we have found that the word "January" is an obvious clerical error or oversight. As we have already seen in the text above, the Nawab Meer Jaffier was alive on 29th January, 1765, and that he died on 5th February, 1765.

him which he had afforded to his Father". "Proclamation was after this made through the City with the usual Ceremonies of his accession to the Subaship", wrote the Resident in conclusion, "Juggut Seat and all the Principal People of the City who were present at the Ceremony gave their Nuzurs to the New Nabob, and proper notice and orders are sent to all the different Provinces of this event and everything seems to be in perfect Tranquility".(9)

Meanwhile, on hearing from Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Durbar, about "the Nabob's Indisposition", the President had written to him two letters—one dated 31st January, 1765, and the other 1st February, 1765. In the first(10) he had written to him:

"I have received your several Letters advising of the Dangerous way the Nabob is in, at this Juncture his Demise would throw the province into a good deal of Confusion. Therefore I earnestly hope next advices may bring a more favourable account.

"I have wrote Capt. Grant to remain with you if at Muxadabad or to return to you if on the way down to take charge of 6 Company's of Seapoys that are immediately ordered to be with you, to preserve the tranquility of the place and support the Government and you must encourage in case of accident the Nabob's family and his ministers to exert themselves and support them carrying on the Government that confusion may not ensue.

"Keep me constantly advised of the situation of the Nabob and affairs at the City that the necessary resolutions may be taken here to prevent troubles in the Country.

(9) The President, Mr. John Spencer, laid before his Council the following translation of the letter which he had received from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla on the 7th February, 1765 :—

"Yesterday being Tuesday, the 14th of Shabaun the 6th year of the reign the Nabob my Father being then alive wrote you a letter which you must have received, informing you of his Illness and recommending to you myself and Brothers the Nabob Syif-ud-Dowla Bahadre and the Nabob Mobareck-ud-Dowla Bahadre and Maharajah Nundcomar Bahadre and the rest of his Family, after that about quarter past one, afternoon he gave up his soul to God and recommending us Friendless to your regard left us to lament his Departure—Immediately upon the news of this Mr. Middleton and Mr. George Gray and Mr. Stables Bahadre and Mr. Droz and other Gentlemen came to me and administered comfort and by the advice and counsel of those Gentlemen and the Friends of my Deceased Father I sat on the Musnud and applied to carrying on the Business of the Government and caused this to be proclaimed throughout the City. As I consider it my duty and the chief of all objects to promote the Good of the People and prosperity of the Country, If it please God, I shall set about compleating the work with more eagerness than ever—as the sincerest Friendship subsisted between my deceased Father and you Gentlemen, I also now must hope even for a great degree of your regard—*Since my father in his Life time recommended me you Sir, in every respect I have my Eyes fixed on your Friendship*—I continue firm to the agreement made by the late Nabob with you Gentlemen, and am not, or shall be in any wise neglectfull in this matter"—See Proceedings, Council, Secret Department, Fort William, Friday, 8th February, 1765. (The italics are ours).

The President also informed his Council that he had received another letter from the Nawab to the same purpose, "addressed to him and them jointly".—See *ibid*.

(10) See the Presidents' letter to Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William, 31st January, 1765.—Vide Secret Consultation, Fort William, 8th February, 1765.

"The officers will be dispatched as if going on to the Army but is to follow your orders, if you require it and stay with you, and you will take care that the Nabob in case he does well again take no umbrage at this step of ours which is solely calculated to preserve the tranquility of the City and his family from the inconveniences they would otherwise be subjected to".

In his second letter(11) President had written to Mr. Middleton, among other things :

"As things are circumstanced I cant see We have anything to do but to support the Government in its present channel on which plan you should act for any change now even for the better would throw the country into a flame, stop our collections and payments and perhaps give the Vizier an opportunity to upset our affairs, therefore I think there must be the greatest appearance of unanimity between us and the present family. . . . .

"If the nabob actually dies we shall deleberate on the necessary measures as soon as possible and duly advise and instruct you and in the meantime you will pursue this plan."(12)

As we have stated before, the Nawab Meer Jaffier did actually die on 5th February, 1765, and "his surviving eldest son" Nazm-ud-Dowla sat on the *Musnud* at Moorshedabad as his successor, on that day. We have also seen from a letter of the Resident at the Durbar to the Council at Fort William that he had, "after seeing the Ceremony of his (i.e. the Nazm-ud-Dowla's) Inauguration performed . . . . . presented him with a Nuzur of Congratulation on his accession to the Subadarry". Apparently, this should have been the end of all matters connected with the question of succession to Meer Jaffier in the office of Nawab of Bengal. But this was not to be the case. Nazm-ud-Dowla's accession to the office of Nawab had, to be valid, to be formally confirmed by the Company. We shall, therefore, see now what the Company's agents at Calcutta did on receiving the letter of the Resident at the Durbar, dated at Muxadabad 5th February, 1765, which had conveyed the news of the death of Meer Jaffier, and to which we have already alluded.

At a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 8th February, 1765, the President informed the Council, after he had placed before it the letter of the Resident at the Durbar as well as the translation of the letter he had received from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla, referred to before, that in view of the

(11) See the President's letter to Mr. Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William, 1st February, 1765.—*Vide ibid.*

(12) The President had also written in this letter :—

"I hope Captain Grant is with you, two Companys set out from hence last night under Ensign Munson who is to follow your Orders, Four Companys under a Subaltern will join you from Burdwan and as Capt. Maclean is on his way to Mongheer you are hereby authorized to detain in if you think proper for the service, or any other officer or Detachment that may be on its way to or from Patna or the army, I am glad to see by your last you was not apprehensive of trouble, but prevention at all times is better than remedy"—See *ibid.*

smallness in the number of its members then at the Presidency (i.e., at Fort William) he had written to Mr. John Johnstone, who was "near at hand", (13) requesting him to "repair with all Expedition to Calcutta to assist us in our Deliberations and the proper measures to be taken on this occasion". The Council, therefore, agreed to defer taking any "Final resolution till his arrival". It also decided to inform Mr. Middleton of this decision and to write to him "to the following Effect":—

"That we are much concerned on the event . . . . . that it is as yet our Intent to support the Family of Meer Jaffier ; But as many arrangements will be necessary which are of such consequence as cannot be immediately determined on, we desire he (i.e., Mr. Middleton) will in the meantime *signify our orders*, that the officers of the late Government do carry on the Business in the usual manner. And that when We have fully determined on the Points which may occur, *a Committee of the Board will be appointed to seat the successor on the Musnud in a proper and Publick manner that he as well the wholes country may see that he receives his Government from the Company.*(14) And that this Committee will have it further in charge to see the said several arrangements carried into Execution".(15)

Further, the Council decided to write to the Commander in Chief (of the Company's Forces in Bengal) and to its subordinate Factories, informing them of what had happened ; and to the Commander-in-Chief alone "to discourage to the utmost any applications for Sunnuds(16) for the Provinces from any Quarter, as", the Council said, "altho' such Sunnuds could not be of weight to support themselves without our assistance yet they might in improper hands be sufficiently so to embarass our affairs, and that it is Our Intention if they should appear necessary to have them procured thro' our Influence alone".(17)

(13) He was then at Burdwan.—See the Secret Letter to Court, dated at Fort William 8th February 1765.

(14) The italics are ours.

(15) The contents of this letter nicely illustrate James Mill's proposition :

"The right of choice (of the Nawab) belonged unquestionably to the Emperor; but to this right the servants of the Company never for a moment thought of paying any regard".—See James Mill, *History of British India* (4th Edition, H. H. Wilson), Vol. III, p. 357.

(16) Obviously from the Mughal Emperor.

(17) The Council also agreed to address by the *Vansittart* a short letter to the Court of Directors, informing it of the death of Meer Jaffier and of the events that had followed it.

Among other things, the Council wrote to the Court in this letter :

"The Nabob left three children behind him the Eldest about 16 years old we have not a very favourable oppinion (*sic*) of this young man's abilities or character, but as the Removal of the succession out of the Family if the late Nabob might at this critical juncture of affairs throw the Country into Confusion—We propose to Nominate him thereto *giving him fully to understand that he receives and must Hold the Government by the Influence and Authority of the Company.* . . . . . The young children We must observe are as unequal to any actual charge from their Minority as the other appears to be from his incapacity And in order therefore to supply this want of a Capable person in the Family We shall take every precaution that proper officers are appointed for the management of the affairs of the Government. . . . . We shall immediately enter into the maturest discussion of all the circumstances attending this

Thus the Council was not prepared to allow anybody else to come in between the Company and the Nawab.

The Council next considered the question of "succession to the Subaship" of Bengal at its Consultation held at Fort William on 12th February, 1765, and it held that the succession should be continued "in the Family of Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn"(18) and "in the person of his surviving eldest son Najim-o-Dowlah".(19) It then adjourned its meeting till Thursday, 14th February, 1765, "to consider the several Arrangements, and Regulations necessary to be made in the Government for the Benefit of the Nabob, and the Company and for the Tranquility of the Country, and the Articles to compass (compose?) . . . . . the Treaty". Accordingly, the Council met at Fort William on 14th February, 1765, adopted some resolutions for incorporation as articles in

change and then form such Resolutions as may appear to us best calculated for the Company's Interest and the Good of the Country in General—And when we have so done shall appoint a Committee of the Board to proceed to the City (i.e. Moorshedabad) in order to Seat the Successor on the Musnud and see those Resolutions Effectually carried into Execution".—See the Secret Letter to the Court dated at Fort William 8th February, 1765. (The italics are ours.)

(18) The Council was unanimous on this point.

(19) One member of the Council, Mr. John Burdett, dissented from this latter decision.

On behalf of Nazm-ud-Dowla the Council argued as follows :

"Tho' agreeable to the Order of succession in Europe the next Heir would be the son of Miron his Eldest son deceased, yet considering that he is very young, That the old Nabob never regarded him as his successor, that agreeable to the known usages among the Musselmen the right of the Grandson is not wronged by his nominating his second son tho' not by his married wife to succeed, That Najim O Dowla had hitherto Passed as the Chutta (Junior) Nabob was introduced under that Title to the Governor and Council at Calcutta—and had been set by the Nabob while he lived, on the Musnud of which Mr. Middleton informed the Board, and which ceremony is considered as the formality in declaring the successor That in that light he had accordingly received Nuzeranas from the Principal officers and People of the City (i.e. Moorshedabad) as well as from our Resident at the Durbar, and that he has in consequence of his Father's Death assumed the Government and was seated on the Musnud in Presence of our Resident and received Nezeranas Publicly at this solemnity also, that Letters advising of the Nabob's Death and his accession have already been everywhere circulated in the usual manner ('Form' according to one copy) throughout the Provinces. . . . . That upon the whole it is better they should permit and confirm Meer Jaffier's Nomination as matters are circumstanced than by any alteration in favour of Miron's son run the hazard of Fresh Convulsions and parties in the country while we are so deeply engaged in so distant a war, and considering the many inconveniences that might be expected to attend on so long a Minority."

Mr. Burdett, however, was not convinced by these arguments. He held that Miron's son should be placed on the Musnud as he was "certainly the right Heir, whereas the other (i.e. Nazm-ud-Dowla) is known to be the son of Jaffier Aly Cawn's Concubine"\*; that "Jaffier Aly (having placed him on the Musnud before his Death and our Resident (at the Durbar) having paid his Nazer on the occasion should not be deemed a sufficient Reason for our Confirmation"; and that Miron's son's minority could not be regarded as a "Just reason for setting him aside" as it might "be easily remedied by our appointing proper Ministers to manage the affairs of Government under our inspection till he becomes of age sufficient to take the Reins himself".—See Consultation, Secret, Fort William, 12th February, 1765.

(\* The lady in question became latter on, whatever might have been her earlier position, a wife of Meer Jaffier.—See in this connexion Mr. B. N. Banerjee's article entitled "The Mother of the Company", in "*Bengal : Past and Present*", Vol. XXXII, 1926).

the Treaty to be entered into with Nazm-ud-Dowla, and ordered a draft of the Treaty to be prepared from them. It also resolved that Nazm-ud-Dowla "shall be given to understand he shall make no application for Sunnuds (from the Emperor) But thro' us".

Further, the Council decided that the President should "immediately write to Najim-O-Dowla and Mahomed Reza Cawn", communicating its decisions, and a Deputation, consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester, Senior and Middleton, should be appointed "to get the Treaty and the other Parts of our Resolutions duely Executed".

The President then wrote to Nazm-ud-Dowla the following letter:—

"Myself and the Council have received your Letters communicating to us the demise of your father the late Nabob on which Event We sincerely condole with you. From our great regard and attachment

It may be noted here that the Select Committee which had been appointed by the Court of Directors under its order of 1st June, 1764, and which held its first meeting at Fort William on 7th May, 1765, did not approve of the decision of the Council stated above. Referring to the death of Meer Jaffier it wrote to the Court on 30th September, 1765, that this event had "furnished the most glorious opportunity of establishing" the influence and power of the Company "on so solid a basis, as must soon have rendered the English East India Company the most potent commercial body that ever flourished at any period of time". "At Fort St. George", it further said, "we received the first advices of the demise of Meer Jaffier. . . . . It was firmly imagined, to that no definite measures would be taken . . . . . in respect to . . . . . filling the vacancy in the Nizamut, as the *Lapwing* (conveying the Court's General Letter to Bengal of 1st June, 1764) arrived in the month of January (1765) with your despatches and the appointment of a Committee (itself), with express powers to that purpose, for the successful execution of which the happiest occasion now offered. However, a contrary resolution prevailed in the Council. The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions, from that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation . . . . . was appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice to the claim of his grandson; and, for this measure, such reasons are assigned, as ought to have dictated a diametrically opposite resolution. Meeron's son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensibly necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation, was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune".—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court dated at Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

It appears to us, however, that the effect of placing Nazm-ud-Dowla on the throne of Bengal was in essence the same as would have been the case if Miron's son had been placed thereon.

The Committee's reference to "the opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes", etc. perhaps led James Mill to make the following observation on the decision of the Council on the question of succession to the office of Nawab on the death of Meer Jaffier:—

"Another motive had doubtless some weight: Nazm-ud-Dowla could give presents; the infant son of Meeran, whose revenues must be accounted for to the Company, could not".—See his *History of British India*, Volume III, 1848, p. 358.

Regard being had to what the members of the deputation received at Moorshedabad by way of "presents" on the accession of Nazm-ud-Dowla to the throne, there may be some justification for the Committee's—and, later on, James Mill's remarks; but there is no direct proof of this motive in the Proceedings of the Council referred to before.

to him and his family. We are come to a determination of nominating and supporting you in the subadarry under engagements which we shall communicate by Gentlemen of the Board, who will immediately proceed to settle these points with you and see you seated in proper Terms and dignity that the whole Provinces may know you are supported by the Company. We shall then also order you to be proclaimed here at Dacca, Patna, the Army Etc. And as it is necessary and expedient that every assistance should be given to you on the administration of this Weighty Government and that you should have about you (a) Person to be confided in, Mahomed Reza Cawn is directed by us in the enclosed Ltre to be at the City against the arrival of our Deputies there, you will forward the same to him accordingly with one from yourself to the same purport as we imagine he will be of great use in his advice to you, We have sent him to Dacca a copy of the Letter now inclosed to you that no time may be lost in fixing you firmly on the Musnud ; and at all times look on myself and the Gentlemen of the Council as fully determined to support you in it against all that wish ill to yourself or family. We are your firm friends and would for the Present have the Business of your Government carried on by the officers now employed, and let them consider it as material and essential to secure them the continuance of your and our Favour that the least impediment is put to the collections of the revenues and payments of the Kistbundee settled by your father for the army,(20) Restitution and other Agreements(21). . . . ."

And to Mahomed Reza Cawn the President wrote:—

"On the demise of the late Nabob Myself and the Gentlemen of the Council have determined to support the Government in his family on the Person of Najim-o-Dowla ; to place him on the Masnud with proper solemnity We are sending on the Part of the Company four Members from our Council, and we are resolved to support him therein. It is our desire that you immediately set out to meet them at the City to give your advice and opinion for the proper settlement of the Business of the Subadaree ; We have desired the Nabob to send a Purwannah for this purpose immediately to you from the City with this Letter. But that there may be no delay therein I send a Duplicate on to Dacca, on receipt of either you will conform to our desire".(22)

(20) The reference, here, is to the sum of five lakhs of rupees which the Nawab Meer Jaffier promised to pay to the Company, on September 16th, 1764, towards meeting the expenses of its troops during the war with Shujay-ul-Dowla.—See Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, etc., Vol. I, 1909, pp. 221-222.

(21) See the provisions of the Company's Treaty with Meer Jaffier, dated 10th July, 1763; also Meer Jaffier's "Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month for the expenses of the Army", dated 16th September, 1764,—*ibid*, pp. 217—222.

(22) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 14th February, 1765.



The Council next met on Saturday, 16th February, 1765, and having read and approved the draft of the Treaty "intended to be entered into with Nijim-o-Dowla" ordered it to "be engrossed fair". It also agreed to meet on the following Tuesday, and give "the Necessary Instructions to the Deputies". The President then laid before the Council the following translation of a letter which Nazm-ud-Dowla had addressed to it and which had been received on that day (16th February, 1765)(23):—

"Heretofore I wrote acquainting you with the situation of affairs here

I have not been rejoiced by your answer which might be the Means of Administering Consolation to me ; I am in the greatest expectation of it as of old a mutual regard, and Friendship has subsisted between my deceased Father, and you Gentlemen I entertain the strongest Hopes that now also by writing frequently the news of your welfare You will favour and rejoice me—From the day of my father's death, I have applied without Intermission to the management of the affairs of the Nizamut, and the settling affairs at this place, and everything goes on well ; if it please God by the Blessing on the affairs of my Father and by the Favour of you Gentlemen every Business will be properly executed even more so than formerly You will be informed of the rest by Baboo Juggut Chund whenever this must have arrived with you, You should pay a favourable attention to his representations".

At the Secret Consultation held at Fort William on Tuesday, 19th February, 1765, however, Mr. Gray, a Member of the Council, who had not been present at the Secret Consultation, held on 14th February, 1765, delivered, after the Council had read the fair copy of the proposed treaty with Nazm-ud-Dowla, a minute in which he expressed his dissent from some of its provisions. He said that he agreed that the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla "should be supported in the Government". "This", he held, "in my opinion is But Consistent with Justice, Honour and Gratitude on our Parts, and what we could not have opposed without a Breach of those Principles".

"However", continuing Mr. Gray said, "although it is agreed that Nazm-o-Dowla should be Nabob, yet this mark of Friendship to his family, is clogged with articles which leave him only the Name without any part of the Power. For without having consulted his opinion or his inclination it is dictated to him that Mahomed Reza Cawn a servant of his Father at present Naib of Dacca must be the Naib Subah, and that in a manner which will throw the entire administration into his Hands. It has been also proposed that the collection of the Revenues should be equally divided between Maharaja Nundcomar and Roydulub ; and further it resolved to reserve the Board a Negative voice in the appointment of all the other Mutsedies and officers of the Government".

From these articles of the treaty proposed to be made with the new Nawab, observed Mr. Gray, "I from my heart dissent considering them as the greatest Manifestations We can offer to a Prince our Ally and not our slave ; to one

---

(23) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Saturday, 16th February, 1765.

connected with us by the Ties of Friendship, and not subjected to us by conquest".

In regard to Mahomed Reza Cawn Mr. Gray stated that Meer Jaffier had "had a very great dislike to him because he was difficient in his revenues, and for other reasons". "And the present Nabob not only hates him, but is jealous and afraid of his aspiring Temper. To impose therefore such a Person upon him is treating him with cruelty as well as Indignity, and would rather serve to drive him to despair than to assist him in the Government. For Mahomed Reza Cawn will have too great an opportunity of retaliating upon the Nabob for the Injuries he will suppose he has sustained from his father. Besides Mahomed Reza Cawn is by no means of a sufficient Rank to hold a Post which commands such distinguished Mutsedies as the Royroyen and the Nizamut Dwan, two officers holding precedence of very man in the country excepting the Nabob and his own Family"(24).

Moreover, Mr. Gray pointed out that the provisions of the proposed treaty with Nazum-ud-Dowla, to which he had referred, were liable to another objection. "To the best of my judgement," he said, "it does not seem the Hon'ble Company's Intention that we should take so much Power in the Government of the Country into our own hands from the Nobob whom they always esteem as an Ally with an independent authority that he makes over to the Company Revenues of lands, and engages to keep out foreign Nations, and on all occasions he is considered as a Principal and not accountable to any for his Transactions ; But if we encroach on his Authority, by taking such a share of the administration we shall make it appear that the Company make the Grants to themselves and that they oppose the Entrance of Foreign Nations into Bengal. The Company and not the Nobob will then be considered as the Principal and in all respects they will be accountable for whatever is done in the country and as force is the argument we can produce in our favour ; we tacitly acknowledge the same Right in the French, Dutch, or any other Power, whenever they chuse to make use of it . . . . . Had it been the Company's Intention to interfere in the Government of the Nabob's Country,

(24) He also said in this connexion :—

"There appears to me a great impropriety in dividing the collection of the Revenues equally betwist Maharaja Nundcomar and Roydulub ; nor can it be done without altering the Form of Government of the Country, Nundcomar is the Proper Royroyen by the King's appointment and it is his Business alone to collect the General Revenues of the Country from the different Naibs, Fougders, Etc. Roydulub is Nizamut Dwan and his Business is to collect the Rents of the Nazim's Jagheer and to have charge of disbursements of the Subadaree, These two Departments of the Government have their distinct offices and Registers, and are independent of one another. They cannot be changed or blended without changing the Regulations by which the Country hath been heretofore Governed, and if once we begin to make alterations in the Form of Government we may as well newmodell it entirely—The consequence of this Innovation and that of Mahomed Reza Cawns appointment would be fatal to the country, for the newly come into Power would immediately turn out all the old officers and the People put in by the Royroyen to whom both Mahomed Reza Cawn and Roydulub are known to bear an irreconcilable Enmity ; and the new officers looking upon their irregular appointments as but of short Duration, will lose no Time to drain the country and fill their own Pockets".

they would not have failed to send Instructions and orders to that Purpose, hitherto I have seen none, and until such orders arrive, I shall look on all encroachments on the Nabob's authority as usurpations on our part and protest against them. Was the Nabob himself to offer them I should not give my consent for accepting them much less can I approve of their being forced upon him."

Lastly, Mr. Gray remarked that pains seemed to have been taken "to prejudice People's minds against the Nobob Najim-o-Dowla as perfectly void of understanding". "But I am myself convinced to the contrary, and think", said he, "he has sufficient capacity to manage his Government, He is also of sufficient age to take the Government upon him, and has as little occasion for Mahomed Reza Cawn to help him on account of his youth as his father had for Meer Cossim on account of his age. As to the inexperience he is taxed with, he hath it in common with all Princes on their first Entrance into a new Government and a short time will make him acquainted with his Business".

Thus Mr. Gray pleaded on behalf of Nazm-ud-Dowla on 19th February, 1765. On the next day (25) the Council met again, and Mr. Gray delivered another minute on that day. Among other things he said in it that if a Naib or Assistant in the Nawab's Government was absolutely necessary, he should be such a person in whom the Nabob could have a sufficient confidence. The members of the Deputation would have an opportunity, on their arrival at Moorshedabad, "of informing themselves who is a proper person for that charge, and they can advise the Board accordingly". Further, he thought that Nundcomar and Roy Dulab ought "to fill the same employments they had been appointed to" by Meer Jaffier, and that "the business of the Government should go on in all respects as before" the latter's death. "All appearances of reducing the Nabob's power, and Assuming it into our own hands", Mr. Gray concluded, "ought to be avoided, whilst we have the force in our own Hands, it need never be feared. But we shall have sufficient Influence with the Nabob to prevail with him to grant us whatever favours we may have occasion to ask".

In reply to this and to Mr. Gray's former minute, the other members of the Council delivered (26) a long minute in support of the decisions it had already come to. The minute is remarkable for its frankness and straightforward character.

They stated in it :—

"As Meer Jaffier had been appointed and raised to the Subah by the Company's Forces, had alone (also?) been supported in it by our influence, We do not allow that any right of succession or the Nomination could rest with him or his Family till our acquiescence and confirmation had been obtained ; Much less will We admit that Najim-O-Dowla being illegitimate, can have any right to assume the Government himself, which we beside esteem

(25) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Wednesday, 20th February, 1765.

(26) *Ibid.*

the Act, and contrivance alone of Nundcomer—The same force that was employed to raise the Father must be exerted to support the son, and if that does not give us some right to a nomination *thrice already assumed*,<sup>(27)</sup> We know not what can ; The Company have a right to expect that their Forces be devoted to establish a succession and Government that shall be permanent in itself, secure and beneficial to their affairs ; And that the Management may be placed in Hands We can depend on for promoting these Ends". "Shall we", they asked, "who have lost so many lives in support of Privileges heretofore held by grants from Delhi . . . . . yield up our authority in Bengal and sacrifice at once all we have been contended (*sic*) for". "To admit the king's right of confirming, while we support a Man by force in the Nizamut is the greatest absurdity and Arguments very dangerous to support . . . . . and as We alone whatever glossing be put upon it, support the present Government in the family against the King's inclinations—having been in Arms Against the King himself in support of it. We will consider alone that we have as good a right to take as large a share as will answer our Principal Ends, Security to our Trade and possessions, as any other People who are as much usurpers as We".

In regard to the question of the position of the Company in relation to the Mughal Emperor, they said ; "there is no doubt we have more influence to obtain the Sunnuds if we choose them, than any other People whatever. We have already *thrice dictated to the King*<sup>(28)</sup> the successor we wish and seem determined once again to employ our Influence on this occasion, for if we do not, Najim-o-Dowla will not long remain subah of these Provinces. And while we *dictate* to the King<sup>(29)</sup> a successor shall we hesitate in laying such restraint as appear salutary on a youth so totally incapable of Government".

In regard to Nundcomar, they observed : "Was Najim-o-Dowla of age and capacity to hold his Authority independent of any but ourselves we would not wish to have the nomination of any officers or to interfere where properly elected ; and we are only inclined to this measure from a firm persuasion if we act otherwise, that the whole Government will rest on Nundcomar, the unanimous voice of the Board (*i.e.* the Council) have often declared their wishes to remove Nundcomar from the place he held, But he had somehow so riveted to himself the affections of the old Nabob (*i.e.* Meer Jaffier) that out of regard to him they forbore as he could not be brought to see what We were all fully convinced of, that both his Government and ours were endangered by the great power this man held. The Company too in one of their letters point him out as a man they would wish to see removed from all affairs of trust ; and shall we now neglect this occasion of putting the inclinations of our masters in force and of acting agreeably to the sense the Board have so oft expressed of this man's character. . . . . *The Nabob must be supported by force and in our opinion be given to understand he can have no right but what he derives from us and our influence with the King.*<sup>(30)</sup> We

(27) The italics are ours.

(28) The italics are ours.

(29) The italics are ours.

(30) The italics are ours.

hold him incapable of Government from the concurrent sentiments of almost every man who has seen and conversed with (him) *and therefore can only acede to his succession on certain assurances that Nandcomar never shall have the lead* as the Company's orders and our knowledge of his character point him as unworthy of such a trust. The Company do not seem to wish to extend their connections beyond the provinces ; but we believe they would think us ill servants, if while we employ their arms in support of a Government, we do not make such limitations as may be necessary for the security of their possessions and commerce and for the prevention of the dangerous changes which have happened in Bengal since the time of our successes and appointment of Meer Jaffier".

In regard to Mahomed Reza Cawn, they said that they believed that there was "no cause of aversion between Najim-o-Dowla and Mahomed Reza Cawn, but what a hour's conversation would remove".

In regard to the appointment of Mutsaddies, they said : "The Board do not stipulate to be consulted in the appointment of the Aumils to be employed in the several Districts, but reserve to themselves the privilege of objecting and representing to the Nabob should the Mutsadies to serve their own ends throw them into improper hands and in case of such Aumils oppressing . . . . . the country ; that the Nabob shall promise to pay proper regard to such representations. With such check we think the Nabob must have much greater justice done him in his revenues than any he can expect while left at the disposal of Nundcomar and his creatures or any single man whose interest it is to cheat and keep him in utter darkness in all these points".

Lastly, they said, "as to our present intent to recommend officers and divide their powers being an usurpation, it can't be more so than our first appointment and support of Meer Jaffier's family, for which we neither waited the Company's orders or the King's assent—nor is it possible that the Company as matters have stood should have sent orders how to act on an emergency so little expected or on such a subject where times and circumstances may so materially alter their Interest in the events. In our ready acquiescence to appoint Najim-o-Dowla we have shown sufficient attachment and respect to the memory of Meer Jaffier". Thus the majority of the Council replied to Mr. Gray. Thereafter the Council agreed(31) to sign the proposed treaty with Nazm-ud-Dowla on behalf of the Company, and to issue the following Instructions "to the Gentlemen of the Deputation":—

"To

John Johnston

Ascanias William Senior

Samuel Middleton

Ralph Leycester Esquires.

"Gentlemen,

Having thought proper to nominate you a deputation from the Board to get the treaty with the New Nabob Najim-o-Dowla, and some consequent

(31) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 20th February, 1765.

arrangements and instructions executed, we herewith enclose the treaty in two copies executed on our part, and when *the nabob has acceded to the Articles on his*(32) you will deliver one copy to remain in his Possession and return the other to us ; you will afterwards see him seated in due form on the Musnud, and cause proclamation to be made of his accession at the city, and places adjacent, giving us immediate advice thereof that we may have him also proclaimed (*sic*) at Calcutta, the army and the subordinate factories. . . . .

“With respect to the business intended to be allotted between Roydullub and Nuridcomar, we have however to define here that when you have made such a division thereof as you think will agreeably to our instructions bring their powers nearly upon an equality, you will advise, and explain the same to us, for our further instructions before it is carried into execution, and in the meantime, the collections are to be continued in the hands they now are. . . . .”

And it appears from a letter(33) from the members of the deputation, dated at Mutajyl (Moorshedabad) 25th February, 1765, that the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla “signed, and executed the two copies” of the treaty referred to in the instructions quoted above, on that day. Among other matters, they wrote in this letter :

“It was thought proper that a private audience should be desired of the Nabob Nezemal Dowlah (*i.e.* Nazm-ud-Dowlah), that we might enter on the business of our commission without delay. We accordingly waited on him this morning in his private apartment, delivered him the President’s letter and produced the draught of the treaty proposed to be now made, and ratified betwixt him and the Hon’ble Company, all possibly (possible?) pains and attention was taken to give him the clearest and plainest notion of the several articles of the treaty and of the sincerity of our intentions *to support him on those conditions* faithfully and steadily after having read it over four times and compared the several articles with those contained in the last treaty contracted with his father, and maturely considered the matter. He agreed to accept it in the form it was offered, and accordingly signed, and executed the two copies, In the presence of the chief men of the Durbar”.

Also(34)—

“We found the Nabob’s mind greatly prepossessed with the suspicion of our aiming to raise Mahomed Reza Cawn to the Subaship. We soon convinced him how idle were his fears on this head, and how needless and absurd the steps we are now taking to secure him in the most effectual manner, in the full and quiet enjoyment of the Subadaree by the faith of the most solemn treaty, If we actually had any such design . . . . . from the assurance we have given the Nabob that Mahomed Reza Cawn shall never have our

(32) The italics are ours.

(33) The letter was addressed “to the Honble John Spencer Esqr., President and Governor and Council of Fort William”.—See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 28th February, 1765.

(34) See the letter from the deputation to the Council at Fort William, dated at Mutajyl, 25th February, 1765.—*Vide* Secret Consultation, Fort William, 28th February, 1765.

protection if he proves unfaithful to his trust all his scruples were removed and he seemed perfectly satisfied".(35)

It also appears from the same letter that the "Ceremony of publicly seating the Nabob on the Musnad" was postponed, pending the arrival of

(35) It appears, however, from a letter which the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla had addressed to the President and Select Committee at Fort William and delivered in to the President (Lord Clive), and which the President placed before a meeting of the Committee held at Fort William on 1st June, 1765, that he had not been 'perfectly satisfied' with the appointment of Mahomed Reza Cawn as his Naib. After referring to the death of his father and to some of the incidents which had occurred before it, the Nawab wrote in his letter :

"Six days afterwards (i.e. after the date of the death of his father) Mr. Middleton came and acquainted me, that two of the Counsellors were coming up from Calcutta for my comfort. This deputation I certainly thought was coming for my benefit and welfare—The day Messrs. Johnstone and Leycester arrived at Cossimbazar, I sent Maharajah Nundcomar Bahadure to meet them—Mr. Johnstone was somewhat displeased with the said Maharaja before, about the pergunnah tumalook (Tumlook), therefore his meeting the gentlemen was not agreeable to Mr. Johnstone—The next day the above gentlemen etc. came to me; I was confident that these my friends and well-wishers would have done me the compliments of condolence, and comfort me. But they did not me the least thing of this kind; instead whereof they begun (*sic*) to incumber me with many troublesome things, and at the same time they sent out all the people which were present together with my brother Nabob Syfud Dowla—and then they told me to send for Mahomed Reza Cawn from Dacca, and set him as Naib of the Nizamut, this troubled me much; and they told me also, that till Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived from Dacca, and till he was set up as Naib of the Nizamut, I must not sit in the Dewan Connah, and that I must live in the same place where I was and put a stop to all publick business. The above named Mahomed Reza Cawn has had long ago evil intentions upon the Nizamut, my father therefore deemed him always as his enemy—and besides, there is large sum of money due from him to the Sircar; for these reasons, I thought proper not to acquiesce to any of the above proposals, which were made to me—I told them to peruse the paper of advice of my deceased father, and see how it directs, and which I shall readily follow; in answer to this they replied 'that your paper of advice was of no force or virtue, and every thing must be done as we think proper'.

"In this manner they have vexed me by sitting almost every day from the first of their arrival to their departure.

"They presented me a paper, and requested I would sign it, this paper was that which they brought with them, and insisted on me to comply with their request. I sent for Meer Mahomed Irrich Cawn, Maharaja Nundcomar Bahadure etc. The first acquainted the gentlemen that whatever a paper they want to be signed they would have no difficulty in it; at the same time it was proper for all of them to peruse it first—Messrs. Johnstone and Leycester being much displeased at this, asked in a very angry manner, "who they were that wanted to peruse the paper"—after this Mounshy Sudoler-oo-dy who was near my presence told me to bring the former treaty and compare that with this, and then to sign it—at this Mr. Johnstone turned out the Mounshy; and they told me that if in case I do not set up Mahomed Reza Cawn in the Naibship, and immediately sign the paper I should have no great chance of being in the possession of the Subahdary and then I should be extremely sorry for it—when I (found) him pressing me so eagerly and in an unfriendly manner I thought proper to sign the paper and deliver it to them, and they carried it away.

"After this Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived and sat as Naib; he, for the better securing his Naibship, above twenty lacks of rupees (in money and goods) out of my treasury has distributed among such people as he thought proper, and this without my knowledge—besides there is a balance due from the abovementioned Cawn of about twenty Lacks of Rs. on account of Dacca Syllat Rosshamabad, of which he does not choose to pay a single Cowry—the above said Mahomed Reza Cawn made Mr. Johnstone his Protector and Mr. Leycester his Vakeel and makes Raja Dullabram his fellow partner took from the

Mahomed Reza Cawn at the City. This decision of the Deputies was objected to by Messrs. Burdett and Gray at the Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 28th February, 1765.(36) The President, Mr. John Spencer, and Mr. Playdell, however, approved of the decision of the Deputies. And the Council, therefore, agreed to write(37) to the Deputies in reply that it confirmed the steps they had taken "to effect the Nabob's agreement to the Terms proposed to him. . . . ."

D. N. BANERJEE.

---

Mounshies Mochulca papers under their hands—he keeps my seal under his own seal and there is nothing to be done with my will or order—titles, employments, kelauts, elephants, horses, and jewels are granted and distributed to others as he pleases. . . . .

"When I intended going down to Calcutta, I was much distressed for paying my servant's wages and other current expenses.

"Mr. Johnstone's bad treatment to me after my father's death, and Mahomed Reza Cawn's station are to me as if I was day and night in a flame . . . . . now I beg your Lordship etc. as my protectors and sincere friends to put my affairs which were ruined by these people on a proper footing, as it was in my father's time—in doing this I shall think myself happy."

"N.B.—The following lines were written "in the Nabob's own hand".

"Gentlemen,

I have wrote my sentiments in the above lines as brief as possible, and beg you will hear my petition".

After having "maturely weighed and considered" the "facts advanced in this letter and other circumstances which have this day appeared before" it, the Select Committee are unanimously of opinion that Mahomed Reza Cawn had "distributed among certain persons near twenty Lacks of rupees."

See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, 1st June, 1765.

(36) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Thursday, 28th February, 1765.

(37) See the *ibid*.



## Tirumala Naik, the Portuguese and the Dutch

---

OF all the Naik rulers of Madura, Tirumala is the best remembered. The city of Madura, more particularly the celebrated temple of Minakshi and the Palace, are enduring monuments of the religious zeal and the practical efficiency of this great ruler. The chronicles are unanimous that he came to the throne in 1623, though a contemporary Jesuit letter states that Tirumala died in 1659 after a reign of thirty years, which would put his accession six years later than the chronicles. His kingdom comprised the extremity of the peninsula—roughly Salem and Trichinopoly and the country south of it.

My object is to study briefly the relations of this ruler with the European trading companies, especially the Portuguese and the Dutch—a subject not adequately treated in the otherwise excellent account of the reign of Tirumala Naik in Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar's *Nayaks of Madura*.<sup>(1)</sup> During Tirumala's reign the Portuguese power in India was on the decline, and the Dutch were beginning to put forth strong efforts to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon and the Madura Coast.

Tirumala himself was evidently a realist in politics. Sentiment had little influence on his actions and he was ever ready to follow the course that, in the given circumstances, seemed most convenient to him. His relations with the Karnataka empire to which he owed allegiance *de jure* and with the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golconda are not easily explained otherwise. His relations with the European companies were also regulated by the same rule of practical convenience or necessity.

The Dutch at first turned their attention primarily to Sumatra and Java in the early years of their enterprise in the East, and it was some years before they turned their attention to the Coromandel coast, and still later before they concentrated on Ceylon and the Madura coast. But from the first they treated the Portuguese as enemies and levied relentless war on them.<sup>(2)</sup> A close examination of the affairs of the Portuguese in India by one of their viceroys showed that in 1623 they were in a very bad state and in no condition to resist the growing aggressions of the Dutch.<sup>(3)</sup>

Another Viceroy lamented in 1636 that the Indian 'trade had fallen into the hands of the Dutch' and that 'whereas India might have been the brightest

---

(1) *The Madras University Historical Series*, II (1924).

(2) Danvers : *Report*, page 21.

(3) *Ibid*, page 27.

jewel in the Portuguese crown, all her forts were in a state of decay'.(4) Two years later, in 1638, the Portuguese Viceroy in India wrote to his king in great detail about the very flourishing condition of the Dutch factories and trade in the Bay of Bengal, in the kingdoms of Golkonda, Bijapur and Vijayanagar, in the provinces of the Mughal empire, and in Persia, the straits of Mecca and many islands in the Eastern Seas.(5)

The Portuguese, however, did make one last effort to retrieve their position and sought to attack the Dutch factory at Pulikat in 1635 with the assistance of the 'Raja of Bisnagar'; two expeditions were led, but on both occasions the Raja did not cooperate.(6) and the Portuguese gained nothing. In fact so low had their fortunes fallen, that about the same time the Jesuits settled on the Madura coast at Tuticorin persuaded the Naik of Madura, obviously Tirumala, to seize one of the Portuguese agents who had been sent there to 'purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants'; and though no details are forthcoming, we learn that the Portuguese sought to teach a lesson to the Jesuits and the Naik in between their two futile expeditions to Pulikat.(7)

A war broke out two years later between Tirumala Naik and his feudatory Dalavay Setupati of Ramnad. Unfortunately we seem to lack all direct means of obtaining a clear knowledge either of the occasion for the war(8) or of the exact part played in it by the two European powers. Nelson remarked that the Setupati is said to have 'procured the assistance of a number of Europeans who came from Ceylon and Cochin in five vessels. The only direct evidence of this fact, is a statement in a poem called *Ramappayya*, noticed by Mr. Taylor and by Prof. Wilson in his descriptive catalogue'.(9)

The poem mentioned by Nelson is the ballad known under the name of *Ramappayyan Ammanai*, which is now being examined and edited by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Reader in Tamil in the University of Madras. The poem is anonymous, but apart from obvious exaggerations and other popular features, its evidence must be accepted as satisfactory, as it bears on the face of it all the marks of a more or less contemporary account. But the poem does not support Nelson's statement. The aid of Parangis (Portuguese) was invoked by Ramappayyan himself;(10) they were ready to give it, because they had a grievance against the Setupati for his obstructing the passage of their vessels in the Pamban channel, and Ramappayyan promised to give them the freedom of the channel as well as the entire island of Rameswaram in case they helped him to win the war. But the help of the Portuguese was not of great avail as they were defeated in more than one engagement by the general of the Setupati. There is no reason to think that the Dutch took any part in this war notwithstanding what has been stated to the contrary by

(4) *Ibid*, pages 39-40.

(5) *Ibid*, page 42.

(6) *Ibid*, pages 52-53.

(7) *Ibid*.

(8) Contrast Nelson, *Madura country*, page 128 with R. Satyanatha Aiyar, *Naiks of Madura*, page 122.

(9) *Op. cit.*, page 129. Neither Taylor nor Wilson gives the fact noticed by Nelson.

(10) *Ammanai*, II, 1482-1567.

Nelson and those who have followed him like Rea(11) and Satyanatha Aiyar. The Dutch records know nothing of it.

Danvers cites Portuguese sources and says that 'in consideration of the assistance sent to him when he wished to take Marava', the Naik of Madura 'undertook to give the king of Portugal a fortress in Pampa, called Uthear, or wherever he might desire one, . . . . . also build at his own expense a church at Ramanacor (Ramnad), and seven churches between Bamban (Pampan) and Tomddy (Tondi). The Naik also gave permission to all those who might desire it to become Christians, and promised to furnish gratuitously to the king of Portugal all the assistance he might require for Ceylon, both in men and supplies. He further undertook not to be friendly to the Dutch, nor to permit them in his territories, whilst his vessels would also not be permitted to visit Dutch port.'(12)

But the Naik's friendship and support meant little for the Portuguese who are at the end of their resources, and whose 'trade with the South was now reduced to being carried on in rowing vessels, which could more easily escape the enemy's ships.'(13). In the course of a few years. Tirumala Naik realised that without the aid of the Dutch company, it was not possible to develop the maritime trade of his country. He saw what was happening in other parts of Southern India where the rulers of Goloconda and Karnataka, of Gingee, Malabar and Ceylon were offering attractive terms to the Dutch and encouraged their settlements and trade in the countries under their rule. In 1644 A.D., Arnold Heussen, the Dutch Governor of Pulikat was also planning in his turn to secure a settlement in the kingdom of Madura, for he expected to be able to get many articles of trade, including slaves, at better prices there than in the territory of Gingee. So when Tirumal Naik sent an embassy to him inviting the Dutch to come and start a factory in his country, an agreement was easily reached and its terms are set forth in a cowl granted by Tirumala in June 1645, received at Pulikat on the 10th July and preserved in a word for word Dutch translation.(14) The Dutch were to be free to build factories, house merchants, factors, writers, soldiers and servants, and buy and sell freely in all places in the territory of the Naik. They were to pay half the ordinary rates of toll on all incoming goods, and three-quarters on outgoing articles, subject to the understanding no toll should be paid on goods re-exported because they could not be sold. The officers of the Naik were not to molest or hinder the Dutch traders and their operations. No other European nation, Portuguese, English or Danes, shall be given any privileges in the Madura kingdom which would injure or abstruct those enjoyed by the Dutch. Trade for cash or by barter is allowed for all goods. The Dutch shall enjoy a preferential claim to all debts owing to them from the merchants of the country. No tolls shall be levied on gold, silver, precious stones, silk

(11) *Monumental Remains of the Dutch*, page 8.

(12) Report, pages 43-44.

(13) Danvers' Report, page 43.

(14) No. 170 Heeres : I, pages 455-57. It is dated Parthiva Jyestha, full moon day corresponding to 30th May, 1645, according to *Indian Ephemeris* of Swamikkannu Pillai.

stuffs and other things meant for presentation. No rights shall be claimed to wreckages and all help will be rendered for salvage whenever necessary. In case of war against the other European nations, the Dutch shall be free to render assistance or not as they chose and to carry on their trade. The cowl was attested by the Naik with his own 'hand of sandal'.

As a result of this agreement, a Dutch factory was established at Kayalpatnam towards the end of 1645 by Arent van der Meijde. It flourished very well, and very soon the Dutch became so powerful on this coast that van der Meijde felt justified in interfering with and regulating the working of the pearl fisheries in the neighbourhood. This naturally brought on a collision with the Portuguese who had been settled for over 120 years in Tuticorin and claimed special rights both over the Christian population of the Paravar fishermen and over the Madura-Tinnevelley coast. According to Dutch authorities, they not only captured a small vessel (toni) of the Dutch laden with merchandise, but successfully induced the Naik to issue orders that the Dutch should be driven out of Kayalpatnam with all marks of ignominy. This actually happened in June 1648 when the Dutch factors of Kayalpatnam just found it possible to escape with their lives to Galle in Ceylon. A punitive expedition to avenge this wrong became necessary, and the task was entrusted to John Maetsuycker, the Governor of Ceylon, who carried out the order in February 1649. He led a force of 436 Europeans and 170 or 180 Sinhalese in a fleet of ten ships which left Negombo on the 2nd and anchored before Manapaar on the 6th. Starting from there on the 8th the small squadron stopped at a place between Virampatnam and the temple of Tiruchendur, where there was a good landing place. The landing on the 9th was unopposed and the town of Tiruchendur was occupied the same day. The next day a part of the force went to Virampatnam and occupied the Roman Catholic church in the place from which the priest had fled. The invaders learnt there that all the persons in Kayalpatnam who had a share in the anti-Dutch demonstrations of the preceding year had sought refuge in flight. The people who stayed behind were not unfriendly, and it was not possible to wage war against them. The invaders took up their headquarters within the pagoda of Tiruchendur, which they fortified and armed with artillery, and made a demonstration of their power by marching along the entire coast. The people shuddered at the military occupation of the famous shrine, but all their protests went unheeded and the invader persisted in his unholy design. The Naik sent a message that reparation would be made for the damage of the preceding year, if the Dutch would relinquish the temple; this too produced no effect.

Tuticorin, the Portuguese centre on this coast, naturally attracted the particular attention of the invader who reached the place on the 12th February. The Portuguese captain had sent a letter to Maetsuycker telling him that the Paravas were under the special protection of the King of Portugal ;(15) the

(15) Holland and Portugal were then at peace; but the Dutch did not allow this to interfere with the execution of their plans against the Portuguese. Danvers : *Report*, pages 44, 46-47.

Dutchman's answer was that he had come to avenge the wrong of the previous year and that he considered the Paravas as only the subjects of the Naik. But here again, most of the Portuguese and the Parava chief had fled, and the rest, who were quite friendly in their behaviour to the Dutch, threw the blame on the Captain and the others that had fled. Maetsuycker proclaimed that while he would not cause trouble to unarmed people, he expected to be paid a contribution of 40,000 reals in three days; the 'Moors' (Muslims) were excluded from this levy as they had always been friendly to Dutch commerce and had also been particularly helpful in this punitive expedition. The principal inhabitants of the place including the Catholic priests found themselves compelled to give a written undertaking accepting on behalf of the Naik of Madura the levy and the time limit for its payment under threat of a complete destruction of the churches and houses in Tuticorin. This agreement, originally drawn up in Portuguese, is available in a Dutch translation in Heeres' collection.(16) But by the 14th February, only 5,463 reals had been paid, and it was observed that the people were preparing for resistance by erecting barricades and arming themselves. The city was then given up to plunder for a day, but not much was got thereby. Hostility continued for some days, but nothing could induce the people to pay up, for in the absence of the chief men who had fled, they were not in a position to do so. Not all the threats and violence of the invader could alter the situation in the least, and news was received that the pagoda of Tiruchendur was being attacked, and the small guard the invaders had left there exposed to danger. Maetsuycker had to content himself with another paper agreement executed by the Captain of Tuticorin and others on the 18th February.(17) This document recalls the agreement of the 12th February with an innuendo against the allegations made by the invader about the occurrences of the preceding year; it then recounts that it was not possible to raise so large an amount in so short a time in the absence of chief citizens of the place and that in consequence an extension of time to the end of May had been granted by the invader, and concludes with a promise to pay within the new time limit agreed upon; all hostilities to cease meanwhile on either side. All the same the houses of the Parava chiefs called Pattangatis were set on fire as a punishment to those who were believed to have been the cause of the trouble in Kayalpatnam in the previous year.

Meanwhile the Naik wrote to the Dutch governor and the people of the coast to make it up between themselves and not carry on war, and sent word to the former to go back Tiruchendur by boats to avoid any possible land attacks *en route*. He took the hint and caught hold of some boats lying in Tuticorin, promising to return them when the levy of 40,000 reals should be paid up, and sailed on the 20th to Tiruchendur which he reached the same evening.

On the 22nd the people of Kayalpatnam turned up and began negotiations in the name of the Naik of Madura for the restoration of the Tiruchendur

(16) No. 185, Vol. I, pages 510-11.

(17) *Ibid*, pages 512-13. The original was in Latin, I follow Heeres' Dutch version.

temple. Maetsuycker relied by making a modest demand of 100,000 reals as costs and damages to be paid to him before he left the pagoda, and of a fresh contract restoring the old trading privileges in Madura country. The representatives of the Naik insisted on the pagoda being vacated first and pointed out the enormity of the offence to the sentiments of the people caused by their desecration of their great shrine, and wound up by offering to give compensation for the actual damage done to goods and merchandise last year together with a new trading factory. As no agreement could be reached, negotiations broke off, and the Dutch prepared for defence. But once more on the 23rd the Adigar of Tiruchendur resumed negotiations which produced no better results. Meantime the people had made large preparations for storming the temple. Reinforcements also began to arrive and a report reached the Dutch Governor from one of his outposts that four to five hundred men, 4 elephants and 50 or 60 horses had been assembled by the enemy.

There was an engagement on the 25th resulting in a loss of 30 men for the Madura army, the casualty in the Dutch forces being one dead and two wounded, all Sinhalese. As a result of it, the town was searched by the Dutch and all the powder they discovered was rendered useless ; and many works of art were also destroyed or damaged. The people became so afraid that they dared not even remove their dead.

But the Dutch gained little by their small successes except the hatred of the local people. And Maetsuycker finding that he could not do much resolved on the 28th to leave for Negombo. He wrote to the Naik on the 1st March reminding him that he had himself invited the Dutch some years before to come and trade in his country, and then, for no fault of theirs, done them great damage ; he had occupied the pagoda of Tiruchendur for his security and would restore it intact the moment the Naik made reparation for the wrong. Having despatched the letter, he embarked taking with him the idoles of the temple, they included the chief stone icon in the garbhagriha also, as security for the amounts due to him from Madura.

There was some indecisive fighting after the departure of Maetsuycker. The Dutch must have left Tiruchendur soon after, but there seems to be no distinct record of this.

The War had cost the Dutch f.12,289 ; they got a booty of f.23,093, thus recovering f.10,804 of the losses at Kayalpatnam that were estimated at f.28,000.

In January 1650 Maetsuycker made another attempt to collect 30,000 reals still unpaid of the contribution he had levied on Tuticorin ; his men were asked about the images from Tiruchendur and were promised a restoration of their trading privileges if the images were restored ; but of the payment of the balance of the levy, they heard not a word.

In February it was the turn of the Madura authorities to seek to recover the Tiruchendur images. On the 11th of that month Vadamalaiyappa, the lieutenant of Tirumala Naik in the Tinnevely district, wrote to the Adigar of Kayalpatnam, Narayana Mudaliar, instructing him to send four persons to Gale to get back the images which were still with the Dutch. The men

were sent with a promise in the name of the Naik that when the images were restored, the Dutch would be compensated for the losses they had suffered. The Dutch governor wrote back saying that the images would be returned on payment of 100,000 reals.

This stalemate was ended by a letter dated 10th May 1650, to Batavia in which the Dutch Governor of Ceylon asked for instructions regarding the disposal of the images; the Batavian authorities answered that he might surrender 'the stone image with its dependents' to the Naik of Madura for what he could get for them and then get from him what advantages he could obtain for the company for building factories and carrying on trade. As a result of these orders, the images were sent to the governor of Ceylon to Kayalpatnam towards the end of January 1651.

Vadamalaiyappa, the officer of Tirumala in charge of the Tinnevely area, is well known in Tamil literature as the patron of several temples in the eastern part of the district, and there is a whole poem bearing the name Vadamalaivenba in which he is often referred to as Kavaï-Vadamalai, from the place of his birth, Kavanur near Madura. There are inscriptions in Tiruchendur and elsewhere bearing witness to the liberal patronage of temples by this official, and the one at Tiruchendur dated 1653 may be taken to commemorate his renovation and reconsecration of the temple after the recovery of the images from the Dutch. It may be noted in passing that the author of the Tamil *Matsya Puranam* was the grandson of this official and was known as Irasai Vadamalaiyappa Pillai. Several writers have confused the two Vadamalaiyappas.

To resume the story of the relations between Tirumala Naik and the Dutch. After their unfortunate experiences in the Madura kingdom, the Dutch left it alone for some time, and concentrated on Ceylon. Within a few years, however, the celebrated Ryklof van Goens became governor of Ceylon and made a determined effort to put an end to the last vestiges of Portuguese power on the Madura coast and in the neighbouring seas. He captured Tuticorin at the end of January 1658 with almost no resistance from the Portuguese and before he proceeded against Mannar and Jaffna where the Portuguese had concentrated their strength, he sought and gained the alliance of the Setupati Ranganatha Tevar. The alliance concluded on the 10th February 1658(18) included was directed particularly against the Portuguese stipulated for full mutual freedom for trade in one another's territories, and allotted seven *tonis* (small boats) to the Dutch in the pearl-fisheries just as the Portuguese used to have before. Before the end of June 1658 Van Goens succeeded in capturing Mannar, Kays and Jaffnapatnam.(19)

Partly as a result of their alliance with the Setupati, but more perhaps in consequence of the decisive successes they had won against the Portuguese, the Dutch found it easy to enter into negotiations once more with Tirumala Naik and his lieutenant Vadamalaiyappa Pillai, and there are two docu-

(18) Heeres-Stapel No. 223, (ii), pages 113-14.

(19) *Ibid*, Nos. 224-6, give the terms on which the surrender of these places was made.

ments<sup>(20)</sup> which enable us to follow the course and results of these negotiations. After his first experiences Tirumala had naturally learnt to be careful with the Dutch, and was not over ready to grant their requests. The first of the two documents just mentioned is a letter from Vadamalaiyappa Pillai dated 18th March 1659 proposing terms to governor Adrian van der Meijden. The other contains the terms sanctioned by the Naik himself after further negotiations and is dated in the same month (Panguni of the Vilambi year in the Tamil calendar) as the preceding document. These terms deserve a somewhat detailed notice as they set forth both the demands of the Dutch and the actual sanctions accorded by the Naik. It opens by declaring the mutual desire of the parties for perpetual alliance and friendship and their willingness to treat the enemies of either of the parties as enemies of the other. Then the Dutch demand for permission to construct a fort is dealt with. The Naik pointed out that the Portuguese who were there for over a hundred years never wanted this ; the Dutch answer was that it was not a fort, but only a small place of safety for themselves that they wanted : the Naik will not say yes to this at once, but will consider it on some future occasion. The Dutch will have the same jurisdiction over the Paravas, Pattangattis and Christians as the Portuguese had before, saving the Naik's rights to the tribute from them. The Dutch still claimed the arrears of the old levy on Tuticorin and neighbouring places ; the Naik says that all old claims and injuries should be forgotten and dropped on both sides. The Dutch wanted that no pearl or chank fishing on the coast was to be permitted without their consent ; the Naik said that none was to engage in this occupation without the consent both of the Naik's agents and the company's officers. The Dutch wanted an exclusive monopoly of the trade in the Madura coast ; the Naik pointed out that that would lead to trouble with other European nations, but he would not give other nationalities permission to build lodges or factories in his territory. The Dutch were to enjoy freedom to trade in all articles including pepper. Their demand for their trade being toll free for three years was, however, turned down, and they were required to pay half-toll as before. The subjects of the Naik were not to narrate the coasts of Ceylon without the permission of the Dutch. The Dutch wanted that all merchants under their jurisdiction should be free from molestation and that they should get a lease of all the sea ports in the country ; the first part of this request was granted, and the second naturally disallowed. The Dutch had demanded lastly that their servants should be free to carry on trade in the Madura country and that the Naik should claim no rights on ships accidentally stranded or wrecked on his coasts ; the Naik's answer to this demand was that the servants of the Dutch company would be free to carry on the Company's trade in his lands, and that rights over wrecked and stranded crafts will be regulated by the rule of reciprocity.

Alexander Hamilton<sup>(21)</sup> gives the following estimate of Dutch policy in India : 'that honest Company has always had a Maxim, first to foment

(20) Nos. 235 and 236 in Heeres-Stapel, (ii), pages 142-9.

(21) *A New Account of the East Indies*, I, pages 186.



Quarrels between *Indian* Kings and Princes, and then piously pretend to be Mediators, or Arbitrators of their Differences, and always cast in something into the Scale of Justice to those whose Countries produce the best Commodities for the Company's Use, and lend the Assistance of their Arms to him who is so qualified by the Product above mentioned, and, at the Conclusion of the War, make the poor conquered Prince pay their Charges for assisting the Conqueror and, when all is made up, and Treaties of Peace ready to be signed, then the Conqueror, their dear Ally and Friend, must suffer them to possess the best Sea-ports, and fortify the most proper and convenient Places of his Country and must forbid all Nations Traffick but their dear *Dutch* Friends, under Pain of having the Company's Arms turned against them, in Conjunction with some other potent Enemy to the deluded Conqueror'. Tirumala Naik, who lived a generation earlier than Hamilton's time, evidently had the same opinion of the Dutch as the shrewd Scotch adventurer who spent many years in the East.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Nelson :—Manual of the Madura Country (1868).  
 Danvers :—Report on Portuguese records relating to the East Indies (1892).  
 Danvers :—The Portuguese in India, Vol. II (1894).  
 Rea (A.) :—Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras (1897).  
 Heeres and Stapel :—Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum, Vol. I (1907), II (1931).  
 Satyanatha Aiyar :—Nayaks of Madura (1924).  
 MacLeod :—De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zee-mogendheid in Azie, Vol. II (1927).  
 Hamilton :—A New account of the East Indies (2 vols.) ed. Foster (1930).  
 Sen Tamil :—Vol. 35, No. 7, May-June (1938).

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

## Qanun-i-Humayuni and Humayun.\*

---

STUDENTS of Indian history are greatly indebted to the late Sir Henry Elliot not for his publishing in his "Bibliographical Index" in 1849 all available information in regard to the various sources of the history of the Muhammedan period, but also for the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts of the period, so far as possible. In addition complete English translations of several important works and in other cases extracts of them were made available in eight volumes of his famous "History of India As told by Its Historians"; owing to Sir Henry Elliot's death most of the volumes of this work were issued under the editorship of Prof. John Dowson during 1867-1877. One of the rare works dealt with in this monumental publication is the *Humayun Nama* or *Qanun-i-Humayuni* of Khwandamir, extracts from which were published in Vol. V of this History in 1873. It deals with the first four years of Humayun's reign, from 1530-1533 A.D., and is of special importance as it was completed by an accomplished Court historian not long after May 1534. It is not a narrative of the events of the four years, but is more of the nature of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, and contains brief but succinct accounts of certain observances, rules and ordinances promulgated by the Emperor, and descriptions of various festivities in connection with the anniversaries of the dates of his accession and birth-day and others in connection with the celebration of the New Year and of Prince Hindal's marriage. It also includes short accounts of innovations in regard to the dress, gardens, boats and markets, and finally provides the only available information concerning the buildings erected under Humayun's order and of the foundation of his new city of Dinpanah at Delhi. Very few manuscripts of this work are known; the one in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, which formed the basis of a translation, extracts from which were published in Elliot's *History*, has disappeared. Two manuscripts of this work in the British Museum library are recorded, but very little information is available about one of them, while another is believed to be in the library of the Institute of Oriental Languages, St. Petersburg (Leningrad). This work, owing to its rarity, was in the words of Mrs. Beveridge, till recently a "literary purdanashin". A carefully edited text by K. B. Hidayat Hosain was, however, published last year by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, based on a rotograph copy of one of the manuscripts in the British Museum. Unfortunately the work is written in a highly ornate style of classical Persian, full of metaphors, similes, allusions and antithesis. Where a single phrase or word would suffice, the author uses half-a-dozen, and invariably displays his learning by using strings of historical, theological, astronomical and other

---

\* A paper read before the Calcutta Historical Society.

terms. Probably its rarity and its style of composition have been responsible for the very little use made by historians of this valuable source of information regarding Humayun's reign. I, therefore, prepared an English translation of this work and this was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal about the end of last year. I propose today to give you a brief outline of some of the observances, rules and ordinances of the Emperor Humayun as detailed in this work.

Before describing some of Humayun's rules and ordinances I shall deal briefly with the conditions prevailing at the time of his accession to the throne of India and during the succeeding four years, as this enables us to obtain a proper perspective of the *milieu*.

Babur died at Agra on 26th December, 1530, and though before his death he had recognized Humayun, his eldest son, as his successor, Mir Ali Khalifa the Prime Minister, having formed a poor opinion of Humayun's character, intrigued to place Mahdi Khawaja, Babur's brother-in-law, on the throne. Various factors, however, swung the balance in favour of Humayun, and he was crowned the King of India four days after his father's death. His position, however, was extremely insecure. Babur while charging him to be the *paterfamilias* had warned him against the possibility of claims which may be made by his three brothers, Kamran, Askari and Hindal and other relations. The Moghuls had occupied northern India, but they were still engaged in fighting and had hardly begun to rule. In fact the nature of government at the time was still *saifi* (by sword) and not *qalami* (by pen).

Humayun instead of consolidating the position and carefully planning for the proper government of his fairly extensive dominions began by assigning the most settled areas, *viz.*, westerly Panjab, Kabul and Qandahar to Kamran, and other smaller portions of his kingdom to the two brothers, Askari and Hindal. To deal with the Afghans, who though defeated by Babur were still far from conquered, he marched towards Jaunpur and defeated Mahmud Lodi at Daunraua, but before he could consolidate the gains, other embarrassments forced him to arrange a peace by which Sher Khan Sur, the most powerful of the Afghan leaders was left to mature his plans for an Afghan supremacy in the east. Later his brother-in-law Muhammad Zaman Mirza's intrigues involved him in the invasion of Gujarat and Malwa. This campaign against Bahadur Shah was successfully carried out, but owing to faulty arrangements for the proper government of the newly conquered dominions, thanks to the incapacity of 'Askari' who had been appointed as the Viceroy for the new province, and the treacherous conduct of some of his officers, the Moghul occupation of Malwa and Gujarat lasted barely a year, and rendered precarious the position of Humayun even in the centre. Further, in the eastern provinces Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who had established himself at Bilgram was threatening the rich provinces in this area, while Sher Khan had consolidated his hold on South Bihar and was becoming a real danger to the Moghul supremacy.

With such turbulent conditions prevailing in almost all parts of the Kingdom, it is really astonishing that Humayun occupied himself in promul-

gating a number of rules and ordinances, and in celebrating festivities of various types rather than dealing with the rebels and arranging for the proper government of his dominions.

One of the innovations introduced by Humayun was to classify all the officers of the State and in fact all the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes called respectively the *Ahl-i-Daulat* (officers of the State), *Ahl-i-Sa'adat* (good and pious people) and *Ahl-i-Murad* (people of pleasure). The state business connected with the three classes was transacted on special days of the week, which were assigned to each class in accordance with the astronomical peculiarities ascribed to each day and the class. For example, the two days Saturday, the day of the Saturn, the patron saint of the *Shaiḡhs*, and Thursday, the day of Jupiter, the star of the Saiyids, the learned men and strict followers of the Muhammedan Law, were reserved for transacting the business of the *Ahl-i-Sa'adat*. Sunday appertaining to the Sun, the regulator of the destinies of the rulers and the Sultans, and Tuesday, the day of Mars, the patron saint of warriors, were reserved for the business of the *Ahl-i-Daulat* or the State officers ; while Monday, the day of the Moon and Wednesday that of Mercury, were reserved for the *Ahl-i-Murad*, and on these two days the Emperor invited his friends and people of pleasure and distinction to his assemblies and spent most of the time enjoying music and sweet songs. Friday, on the other hand, was devoted to dealing generally with the affairs of all the three classes so far as time and conditions permitted. To the three classes, further be assigned three gold arrows of different designs as their emblems ; these were handed over to the leaders of the three classes as the insignia of their authority, and it was through these leaders that the affairs of the three classes were regulated. For example, the leader of the *Ahl-i-Daulat*, Shuja'ud-din Amir Hindu Beg Bahadur, in accordance with the royal command looked after the affairs of the nobles and ministers and judicial officers. He also fixed the salaries of all the military personnel and appointed guards for the heavenly throne. The weighty affairs of the Murad, and the public works, both legislative and religious, were conducted by the leader Amir Uwais Muhammad, while those of the *S'adat* by Maulana Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Farghari who looked after the affairs of the teachers and expounders of law, the appointment and dismissal of law officers and managers for various religious duties, as also the assigning of pensions and grants of land in charities to members of this class. Further subdivision of the three classes into twelve subclasses in accordance with the twelve signs of the Zodiac was also carried out, and each of the subclasses was assigned a special emblem in the form of an arrow.

Another innovation of the emperor was that he divided the affairs of the State into four departments corresponding to the four elements: the *Atashi* (fire), *Hawai* (air), *Abi* (water), and *Khaki* (earth). Each of these departments was placed in charge of a *wazir* (minister), and the four departments dealt respectively with (1) armour and arms, etc., (2) transport, kitchens and stables, (3) syrup and wine manufactory and irrigation, (4) agriculture, building and the administration of exchequer, lands, etc. Unfortunately, however, the

superintendence of all the four departments was later transferred to a single minister, Amir Uwais Muhammad, and thus the real significance of the division of the work of the State into four separate departments was entirely lost.

The opening of the sessions of the Royal Court was announced by the beat of drums, while guns were fired to announce their termination. Rewards in the form of robes of honour and cash were doled out as sanctioned, and even punishments were carried out by special staff immediately on the orders being issued. Drums were beaten in the morning for worship and prayers (*Naubat-i-Sa'adat*), later with sunrise when people began attending to the affairs of government (*Naubat-i-Daulat*), and finally in the evening, which is aptly described by the author as the time for leisure and enjoyment (*Naubat-i-Murad*). Similarly on the first and fourteenth nights of each month, which are the times for welcoming the Sun and the Moon respectively, *Naubats* were beaten in accordance with royal orders. The *Tabl-i-'adl* or the Drum of Justice was, following its institution by the Emperor Nushirwan the Just, placed near the court hall so that seekers for justice may by beating it bring their complaints directly to the notice of the Emperor. If the complainant had only a slight dispute with someone, he would beat the drum only once ; if his hardship referred to the non-receipt of his wages, he would beat it twice ; if his goods and chattels had been seized by an oppressor or stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice ; and finally, if it was a claim of blood against someone he beat the drum loudly four times. The author of the *Qanun-i-Humayuni* sums up the high standard of justice of Emperor Humayun as follows: "Thanks and praise be to the Almighty God, that during the reign of this manifestation of justice and favours, no one is beaten with the stick of oppression except the drum, and but for the flute no one produces a cry of despair."

Humayun caused special festivities to be celebrated on the anniversaries of his accession to the throne, the New Year and his birthday. Extensive festivities also were also arranged in connection with his brother Hindal's marriage. On the occasion of these festivities the towns and the garden were beautifully decorated with fine cloths, embroideries and lights of all colours ; artists and tradesmen decorated the streets and shops, and the boats in the river Jamuna ; royal pavilions were set up, and elaborate arrangements were made for the festivities. During the days of festivities food and drinks of all kinds were distributed free to all and sundry, and the Emperor accompanied by his nobles and his ministers rode out in procession. Tournaments were arranged for testing the skill of the soldiers in striking plates and archery, and robes of honour horses and other rewards were distributed to the successful competitors. The nobles and officers presented their offers, and the poets offered their *Qasidahs* ; all were rewarded in accordance with their ranks.

In addition the author gives fairly detailed descriptions of *Chahar Taq* boats, a floating market, a floating garden, a movable bridge, a movable palace, the tent of the Twelve Signs, and Carpet of Mirth, which were constructed according to the Emperor's direction. The accounts of the buildings

which were erected at Agra, in the palace in the Agra fort, and in the Gwalior fort are, as noted already, of special interest, and so is the detailed description of the foundation of the city of *Dinpanah* at Delhi.

In conclusion a brief reference may be made to the light this work throws on the character of Emperor Humayun. Carelessness, unreliability, self-indulgence and the love of self-aggrandisement, which were characteristic of him from his childhood, are fully reflected in later life together with an access of generosity and kindness, even when promptness and ruthlessness were definitely indicated. While possessed of great military skill, personal courage and endurance, he never paid any attention, as a skilful and successful general should do, to consolidating his gains, but wasted valuable time in enjoyment and even in drugged stupor. Humanity, kindness and love for his relations carried to an extreme resulted in misery not only for himself but also for the people whom he ruled. His reliance and faith in astrology and astronomy were carried to an extreme, and even resulted in his death, as he fell while descending from the roof of the Sher Mandil where he had been directing his astronomers to observe the transit of the Venus with a view to issuing orders at the lucky moment.

B. PRASHAD.

---

## Defence of the Frontier of Bihar and Orissa against Maratha and Pindari incursions (1800—1819).

---

THE frontier of Behar was exposed to predatory inroads of the Marathas. W. Hunter, Magistrate of Ramghur, requested R. B. Gregory, officer commanding at Hazaribagh, to return to Burwa to expel Hurry Ram Shahy and his Marathas and to apprehend some insurgents such as Joy Mungal Singh, Phurdwan of Burwah, Bhoge Roy of Nowaghur, Joykisen Roy, late Dewan of Nagpur and others (1795). Hurry Ram made incursions from the jungles of Burwa adjoining Sargooja. Moreover the Chooars from Nagpur had been boldly plundering the villages of Ramghur, and the help of sepoy had to be sought to expel them. There was one notorious dacoit named Assmaun Roy who with his party of 200 men was plundering the villages about Ragonathpore. Thakoor Bholanath Singh and his adherents were making depredations in pergunah Golah. Raja Deonath Shahy, Zamindar of Chotanagpore, complained that a party of Marathas consisting of 500 horse and 500 burkandazes had plundered and laid waste five of his pergunas. A gang of about 1,500 plundered Pachet. This was joined by Bholanath Singh at the instigation, it was supposed, of Raja Guror Narain, whose zemindary of Chakla was sold for arrears of revenue (1798). Many villages (e.g., Chourassy, Cossapur, etc.) were similarly looted. Bholanath soon gained accession in strength. T. H. Welsh, Com. Detachment informed Major D. Marshall, Comg. Ramgurrh Battalion, "that Choors do not distress and plunder the ryots, but plunder the cutcheries of the British." (1st Sep. 1798).

Relatives of zemindars became disaffected owing to the non-satisfaction of their ambition and turned plunderers, e.g., Mokoondeet Singh the uncle of Bikramadit, the minor Zemindar of Pathkum, plundered two villages, murdering and wounding several men. The young Zemindar had to be sent to Chatra for safety. The officer commanding the Ramgarh battalion was requested to despatch a military force to apprehend him. Notorious dacoits were perpetrating atrocities over a wide area. Kunuah Sing and others burnt and plundered the cutchery of the Attamghadar at Kataur. There were disturbances in Bilounja to quell which Major E. Broughton sent Lt. Higgott with a company of sepoy. Foud Singh, the notorious dacoit who was infesting the Jheria district was apprehended. Other dacoits were confined at Jhalda (1803).

Thus the country was more or less in a disturbed state, and it was necessary to protect it from the outside enemy. The Secretary to Government entrusted Major Broughton with the task of defending the line of frontier extending from the south extremity of Pachete to the banks of the Sone. It was apprehended that in the event of hostility breaking out between the British Government and the Raja of Berar, the Company's territory would be ravaged by the troops of Berar and the people of the frontier *perganas*. So some instructions were given for the guidance of the officer commanding. The frontier of Mirzapore to south and west of the Sone, comprising part of Singrawli *perganah* should be included in the line of the frontier entrusted to the Ramgurh battalions measures to be taken to open several depots of provisions for the moving troops, trusty emissaries to be stationed within Berar and on the eastern frontier of the Raja of Berar's territories, the battalion to be formed into two equal detachments each with a couple of field pieces to be stationed one in Chotanagpur, and the other at Oontari or Bilounja. It was necessary to secure the assistance of the frontier Rajas and Zemindars, without which no plan of saving the frontier from ravages could be devised. Two passes in Chotanagpur were in possession of some delinquent jagirdars, and of the two courses of dealing with them, *viz.*, expulsion and apprehension or conciliation, the latter to be preferred; Major Broughton was authorised to give assurances of pardon when necessary. A *perwana* from the Governor-General was issued to the following zamindars to obtain support—Raja Guror Narain Deo of Pachete, Raja Deonauth Sahy Deo of Nagpur (Chotanagpur), Moneynaut Singh of Ramghur, Bikramajeet Singh of Patkum, Churaman Roy Deo of Palamau, Bhoopnath Sahy of Bilounja and Syed Kazim Ally, Altamghadar of Bilounja. The Major was ordered to employ adequate number of *burkandaz* and to take measures to enforce the stipulation of Col. Jones's treaty. About 20,000 Marathas were scattered through Bamra, Banai, Raighur and Sambalpur. Some Zamindars fled to the hills and jungles, some of them made entreaties for assistance. From a letter of Col. Jones to the Chief Secretary it appeared that the Rajas of Sambalpur and adjacent territories were disposed to concur with the Company. Any way it was necessary to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the Zemindars and Ghatwars, among whom a set of signals was distributed to secure speedy communication of intelligence from pass to pass. Bilounja was more important as it contained many passes which it was necessary to guard. The ryots who were rackrented by Kazim Ali were pacified, and the zealous and active co-operation of Raja Bhupnath Sahy was secured. The frontier from Rohtas (lying to the north of the Sone) to Mirzapur did not cause much anxiety, as it could be penetrated through Baghelkund, whose Raja Ajit Singh, a powerful and independent zamindar, was not well disposed towards Berar. One hundred sixty miles of frontier to be defended lay opposite to Sirgooja.

Major Broughton who was entrusted with the defence of the frontier from the west border of Midnapore to the Sone advised the exclusion of the *pergana* of Singrowli in the Mirzapur district from his jurisdiction and its division into two parts, one to be under the Raja of Burdee and the other to form part of Zila Mirzapur. The magistrates of Ramghur and Birbhum



were vigilant about the maintenance of tranquillity in their districts. A numerous body of Chuars made a daring attack upon a Havildar's party killing two sepoys. Military precaution was taken to protect Pachete and the adjoining pergunas. The Ramgurrh battalion marched to defend the boundary line between Palamau and Sirgooja. The frontier jagirdars (with the exception of three) did not evince any disposition to assist in the defence of the frontier. Information was received (13th October 1803) from the Resident in Sirgooja that 10,000 Maratha horse arrived at Ruttanpore under command of Deen Sahye and had an engagement with the English. 3,000 horse went to Sambalpur, and 6,000 to Cuttack, while a party of 4,000 proceeded to assist the Peshwa (25th October, 1803).

Major Broughton reported on the inadequacy of the force under him for the general defence of so extensive a frontier, and of Sambalpur (November, 1804). Precaution was taken to preserve peace and tranquillity in Birbhum, Ramghur, Palamau and Bilaunja (1804).

The Major reported the apprehension of Antuji Naik the Agent to the Raja of Berar in Khurda (February, 1805). Close watch was kept on the movement of Amrit Rao and Nana Saheb and Major Roughsedge was appointed to attend the former as guard of honour at Benares.

Meanwhile Mokoondeet Singh was disturbing the peace of Patkum, and Decanny Sahy, a powerful, Chuar jagirdar, that of Tamar. Raja Joujhar Singh of Raighur was warned not to give encouragement to the Rani of Sambalpur and others in their opposition to the Raja of Berar (1807). Major Roughsedge, assisted by Lt. H. Sinnock, ultimately secured the persons of Mokoondeet Singh, Decanny Sahy and other dacoits (twentyone in number) who were despatched to Bancoorah (1808), accompanied by evidence. He obtained information from R. Jenkins, Acting Resident of Nagpore, that the Rani of Sambalpur had taken refuge in the Company's territory on her fort having been taken by the troops of Nana Saheb under Ram Chunder Waugh. In order to pacify Chotanagpur it was resolved by the Governor General in Council to remit the fines and interest due from the Raja to the amount of sicca rupees 13,000.

In 1810 some other disturbances were brewing. Roughsedge informed Jenkins about the renewal of the claims of the Raja of Sirgooja to the pergunah of Burwa. He also informed the Secretary to Government about the complaint of Raja Joujar Singh of Raighur that the Marathas were unjustly and violently claiming his villages without paying any heed to his remonstrations, and that Chundajee Bhonsla, Tantia Sardar and Kashiram Killadar were at Sambalpur with a force of four or five thousand horse and six or seven hundred men (24th February, 1810).

In 1812 there were disturbances in Nowagurrh in Chotanagpore, its jagirdar, Buctour Sahy, having been guilty of murder and plunder. Lt. O'Donel who conducted military operations against the strongholds of Buctour Sahy did not meet with the expected success. His failure was reported by Roughsedge to Lt.-Col. G. H. Fagan, the Adjutant-General (1812).

In a letter dated 19th March, 1812 written from Hazaribagh, Roughsedge informed Lt. Smith Commanding Detachment Battalion 25th Regiment that the arrival in the neighbourhood of Mirzapore of a large body of predatory horse rendered it necessary for him to halt his detachment at Gaya and that Captain Sinnock had been directed to place himself at his command. Further he wrote to Lt.-Col. Fagan pointing out the necessity of his march with all available force to the menaced part of the district under his charge. This information about the Pindaris he received from the acting magistrate of Mirzapur, which he forthwith communicated to W. M. Fleming Magistrate of Ramghur (1).

On 21st March 1812 he informed O'Donel that the Pindaris had advanced towards Sessaram and Daudnagurh, therefore he relinquished his intention of going to Chotanagpur and asked him to proceed with his force to Chittra (Chatra). He informed Fagan that the Pindaris had crossed the Sone and committed depredations on Burhur, a pergana adjoining Billounja on the west, that he was hastening towards the frontier and directed Raja Futteh Narayan to detach all the irregular force he could collect. He also informed Smith, Commanding Detachment at Gaya, that the Pindaris after crossing the Sone had appeared at Kona in perg. Burhur on the 19th inst. and were supposed to make for the north-east, and advised O'Donel what measures he should adopt in the event of their entering Palamau. On 23rd March he wrote to Major-General Wood, Commissioner Chunar, that he was marching with a part of Ramgarh battalion consisting of 340 firelocks and guns to afford protection to that part of his district which was thus menaced(2). He further informed Fagan that the news of the appearance of the Pindaris near Daudnagar was false, and the party that committed depredations near Mirzapur withdraw by the jungle route of perg. Doodee Phoolba into the Maratha district of Sirgooja. He submitted to Edmonstone a list of properties belonging to Loll Pran Singh (younger brother of late Loll Jagernat Singh of

---

(1) Mr. C. E. A. W. Oidham who has edited the Shahabad Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan comments on the following passage in the Journal under date 18th December, 1812—"From the south end of the hill I went about a mile to a channel containing a small stream which comes from the gap north from Rautas passing through a small camp of Marattah horse in the utmost confusion. There was nothing of military show or regularity, nor do I believe a single sentry. Beyond the river is the town of Akbarpur. . . ." He suggests that these were Pindaris and says—H. T. Prinsep, (Vol. I, 34, 37 Political and Military Transaction) describes how a party of Pindaris led by Fazil Khan penetrated in 1812 through Rewa into Mirzapore district "and turning east as soon as it reached the Mirzapur frontier, advanced to the neighbourhood of Gaya, and then disappeared up the course of the Soane, on its way back to Malwa by the Chandya Ghat, before a single soldier from any British cantonment could come up with its track." He regrets it is unfortunate that Buchanan should have treated it so summarily.

But notice the difference in dates. The records bear the dates March and April, 1812 for their appearance in the Mirzapur district and their return, whereas Buchanan came up the camp on 18th December, 1812. From a letter of Roughsedge to Major General Wood dated the 14th November, 1812 we learn of the "detachment of 200 of Amrit Rao's irregular horse at the posts of Sonepoora and Ackberpore."

(2) He went to Mirzapore in April. He asked W. Salmond, Collector of Benares, for the payment of Sonat Rs. 14,774-6-3 to the corps under his command (letter dated 19th June, 1812).

Sirgooja) plundered by the Pindaris on 10th March. On 4th April he wrote to Col. Plumer intimating that the Pindaris met with several checks in their passage through Sirgooja to Sohagpur, especially at Harrearpore and Burula ghats, and advised Fagan to march as far as the confluence of the Rehru with the Sone. On 6th April he wrote to Major-General Watson, Commanding Dinapore that there was no reason to apprehend any incursion of the Pindaris for the present into South Behar. On 18th April he assured him that the report of the appearance of a second body of Pindaris to the southward of Rewa was unfounded. He reported to Fagan on the steps he had taken at Cotah, Singrowli, and Accouree (Agori) to defend the country against them. In order to secure that part of the British territory against their irruption, he recommended every reasonable indulgence to be shown to Raja Udwant Singh of Singrowli to attach him to public interest.(3)

He acquainted him with the ghats and passes in Accouree, Burhur, Bidzifiarh (Bijaghar) Rohtas and Bilounja, and gave him a general account of the frontier districts placed under his military charge. He also wrote to the Agent, Governor-General, recommending the conduct of Raja Run Bahadoor Singh of Accouree Burhur for supplying useful information respecting the chieftains beyond the frontier.

Vigilance was also kept on the Pindaris in the Cuttack Province (Orissa). On 14th October, 1812 J. W. Sage, Acting Magistrate, Zillah Cuttack wrote to Col. William McCulloch, Commanding at Cuttack, about the expected incursion of the Pindaris into the district. He got information of a body of Pindaris having assembled in the town of Juggernaut Pooree, their number being 110 men armed with matchlocks, swords and spears and he thought that a greater number would join them. He further wrote, "I have received private information that Rajah Mokondeo, the head of the Temple and a disaffected man is in league with the Pindharees. Whether or not my information be correct, I deem it necessary to apprise you of it that the officer commanding the detachment may not lose sight of him." He also wrote to N. B. Edmonstone, Chief Secretary to Government, on the same date "A nephew of Ragoojee Bonsla's is approaching the frontier of the district with a large force to pay his devotions to the Temple of Juggernaut, for which he had obtained sanction of his Lordship in Council."(4)

On 4th November, 1812 Roughsedge informed Fagan of the unfavourable state of Palamau and the employment of irregular horse of His Highness Amrit Rao on the Sone; he had been informed by Major General Wood of the appearance of the detachment of 200 of Amrit Rao's irregular horse at the posts of Sonepoora and Akbarpore.(5) On 8th November he informed Major-General Watson Commanding Dinapore Division, that the Pindaris had crossed the Narbadda on 18th October and that a party under Dost Mohummad

(3) Journal of Francis Buchanan; Shahabad District (JBORS XI pp. 276—77) "Singraula belongs to Udawant Singh, a Ben Bungsi Rajput, who pays tribute for 700 villages to the Company and 700 to the Marathas."

(4) Records preserved in the Record Room of the Collector of Cuttack.

(5) See footnote 1.

had crossed the same river near Chainpore Baree. On 22nd November he informed Adam that the advanced guard of the Pindaris had arrived at Jubbulpore, and the inhabitants of Sohagpore and Chutteesghur were running away ; he requested him to furnish him with authority to act as the Governor-General's Agent in directing the movements of and drawing information from the Zamindars on the frontier and take all necessary measures. He approved of Higgott's action in repairing the fort of Futaree, and the establishment of a Dak between his camp and that of Captain Patrickson, Commanding a detachment in Bagelkhand, and one between Oontari and Husseinabad (30th November). A month later he reported that "all expectation of the Pindaris" seemed to be at an end (31st December).

On 1st February, 1813 he wrote to Adam stating that the previous facility with which the Pindaris might penetrate into British territories under the pretence of being subjects of the Maratha States and bound on pilgrimage to Gya or Benares induced him to recommend that information of any large body of pilgrims should be given previously, whenever practicable, to the officer commanding on the frontier by the residents at the courts of Poona, Nagpore and of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

Roughsedge apprehended Buctour Sahy, Mokondit Singh and other insurgent sardars with the help of Raja Ranjit Singh of Jushpore. Finding that the Raja of Rewa had proved hostile, he reinforced the detachment at Oontari from troops under his immediate command and from the cavalry of Major-General Wood's Division and he received from the Adjutant General an extract of despatch from the Commander-in-Chief to Col. Martindell confiding to him the direction of the force employed with a view to overawe the Raja (12th to 24th March, 1813). A parwannah was addressed by the Governor General to Raja Oodwant Singh of Singrowli desiring him to conform to what requisitions he might receive from Roughsedge in operations against the Raja of Rewa (17th April, 1813).

The Governor-General conferred khellaut (honorary dress) on Raja Joujhar Singh of Raigarh, commended the zeal and devotion of Raja Futtah Narayan Singh of Sherghatty, and out of consideration for the services of Raja Ranjit Singh of Jushpore (who suddenly died in April, 1813) commanded Raja Bulbhuder Sahi of Sirgooja to forbear from demanding more than the fixed malgoozary of the estate of Jushpore. Loll Sangram Singh raised a rebellion against his nephew, Raja Bulbhudder Sahi, the rightful chief of Sirgooja (October, 1813).

We again find Roughsedge making arrangements for the defence of the frontier against the incursions of the Pindaris during "the dry season".(6) October, 1813).

---

(6) It was the custom of the Pindaris to get ready, during the Dasserah season, September-October, when the rivers became fordable, for incursion into the British territory following perhaps the tradition of the Kings of ancient India to start on the conquering expeditions (dig-vijayon) during the season.

In 1813 Roughsedge occupied Nowaghur (letter to Fagan, 18th November 1813) and in 1814 he apprehended Loll Sangram Singh and twenty of his adherents. He forwarded to W. W. Bird an extract of a treaty concluded at Sirgoojanugger between Lt.-Col. Jones on the part of the British Government and Herbajee Pundit on the part of Berar and ratified by the Governor-General and Raghuji Bhonsla relating to the prevention of Loll Sangram Singh and Pertumber Singh Subadar from entering into Sirgooja.

On 24th January, 1914 Roughsedge informed the Major General about the departure from the camp of Dost Muhammad, the Pindari Chief, of 8,000 horse on 9th January, half of whom took the northerly and half the easterly direction. He commanded Ensign Ferguson of the Ramghur battalion to prevent the penetration of the Pindaris. In November, 1814 he delegated his authority to Higgott to take measures for the security of the frontier against predatory attacks, and to get control over zamindars and ghatwars of Ramghur and Jungle Mahals. There is a reference in a letter (dated the 5th November 1814) from T. Borroughs, Commanding Lohardagga to J. Wauchope, Superintendent, Political Affairs, Bundelkhand, to the sallying out of about 2,500 Pindaris under the command of Ramzan Khan, Wasil Khan, and Soobhan Kunwar from Doobonlee and Phootera. Certain villages in the Saugor country were plundered by them. The Adjutant General informed the Secretary that His Majesty's 14th regiment was being immediately prepared for service and moved by the route of Birbhoom and he new road to the position near Hussenabad for the purpose of protecting south Bihar and the provinces west of the Ganges.

Meanwhile Roughsedge with his Ramgarh battalion and brigade of guns and 3,000 camp followers was proceeding through Saran *via* Bettiah to effect junction with Major Bradshaw to take part in engagement with the Nepalese (November-December 1814).

Captain Higgott, Commanding Hazaribagh, requested the Secretary to Government to issue a perwannah to zamindars asking them to be vigilant in guarding the passes and strongholds. Captain H. M. Ross, Commanding 1st Battalion 12th Regiment N. I., came up with eight companies to join Higgott (25th December 1814). The Secretary informed Captain Higgott that Appa Sahib, the nephew of the Raja of Berar, was coming to visit Benares. Higgott came to Deo, took muster of irregular horse and foot assembled by Raja Ghun Sham Singh of Sherghati, and marched towards Hussenabad (19th February 1815). He advanced Rs. 5,000 to the Raja who was in pecuniary difficulties, for payment to his force.

There was a serious disturbance in Sirgooja ; the disaffected jagirdars of Puhar Burrila (Paharbula) and Ramcola became so violent that the Raja (Balbhudder Sahy) fled with family for safety. Subadar Hussein Khan defended the Rani at Pertabpur and for his gallant conduct the Governor-General conveyed his approbation. The wife of Loll Sangram Singh, who was detained Benares, appeared in the northern border of Sirgooja and incited the jagirdars. Samgram Singh was removed from Benares to the fort of Chunar (Secretary to Government to W. A. Brooke, Agent of the Governor-General at Benares,

dated 10th August 1815). The Governor-General wrote a letter to Raja Ghan-sham Singh asking for a supply of horse and foot to be placed at the service of Major Roughsedge who was directed to restore tranquillity, and re-establish the just authority of the Raja in Sirgooja (14th November 1815). For settling the affairs of Sirgooja it was considered desirable to obtain the co-operation of the Raja of Berar, who appointed Bulwant Rao Narrain and Dewanjee Dongurdeo to act in concert with the Major (Jenkins to Roughsedge, 28th December 1815). The rebellious jagirdars were duly punished. Raja Bulbhudder Sahy and his son died, and the direct line of the zamindars of Sirgooja became extinct.(7) A treaty was concluded at Sirgootanugger in June 1816 between Bheekajee Gopaul, amil of Chutergurh and Major Roughsedge, relating to the succession in Sirgooja. Captain Sinnock was appointed Superintendent of Affairs of Sirgooja (July, 1817).

A band of Pindaris appeared with 300 guns at Karee Jalow, 25 miles west of the town of Rewa (letter dated the 30th March, 1815). The Adjutant General wrote to Wanchope, Superintendent Political Affairs Bundelkhand and Colonel Routledge Commanding in Bundelkhand regarding the incursion of Pindaris under Ahmed Khan. Higgott was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to proceed to Berhampore to assume command of the corps quartered at that station. Some Pindaris had taken up a position in Ampapanee (letter dated the 27th June, 1815). The Resident at Nagpore informed the Secretary to Government that three bodies of Pindaris of considerable strength had passed down the Nerbadda by the Eastern Road to the vicinity of Ramtak, 25 miles, north east of Nagpur (17th-21st November, 1815).(8)

Raghuji Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur, died on 22nd March, 1816 and was succeeded by his son Bulla Sahib, now Raja Parsoji Bhonsla.(9) Owing to the physical and mental imbecility of Parsoji, a regency was formed under Madhoji (Mudhoji) Bhonsla, better known as Appa Sahib (son of Venkaji Munia Bapu), the Raja's cousin, who showed himself friendly to British interests. Not feeling secure against the party of Buka Bai (Raghuji's widow, who had a strong claim to the Regency) and Dharamji, a trusted official of the State, he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government, and a treaty was accordingly concluded on 27th May, 1816. The treaty of Nagpur was of great political moment and "struck a serious blow at the power of the Maratha Confederacy", as Malcolm has observed.(10) Parsoji was found murdered in his bed room on 1st February, 1817, and Appa Sahib succeeded him.(11) He soon made common cause with the Peshwa Baji Rao,

(7) Secretary to Government to Roughsedge, 25th May, 1816.

(8) The Pindaris returned with rich booty from the Deccan. They made a second expedition into the Deccan in February, 1816. They passed through Hyderabad and Masulipatam to Guntur and committed depredations with most outrageous violence. When the season of 1816-7 opened they made further inroads. Military measures were taken against the Pindaris in the winter of 1816 and the spring of 1817. In September 1817 the grand operation was undertaken to exterminate them root and branch.

(9) Jenkins to Roughsedge, 23rd March, 1816.

(10) *Political History*, Vol. I, p. 465.

(11) Jenkins got evidence later on that Appa Sahib caused Parsoji to be secretly assassinated.

and made war on the British, but was defeated, and was constrained to sign a treaty ceding certain territories (*viz.*, parts of the country on either side of the river Narbada, Berar, Gawilgarh, Sirguja, Mandala, Sohagpur) and engaging that the administration of the country was to be conducted according to the advice of the Resident. He, however, continued his intrigues with Baji Rao whom he planned to join at Chanda, but was arrested by the Resident and was being conducted to the Fort of Allahabad under the escort of Captain Brown when he escaped (13th May, 1818), fled in disguise. With the help of the Gond Chiefs he organised forces to fight with the British with a view to regain Nagpur. His attempt having failed, he fled to Asirgarh and thence to Hindustan (12) (February 1818).

The effect of the hostility of Appa Sahib was felt in Behar. Roughsedge reported to Jenkins that Dheen Singh, Commandant in Chutteesgur, allowed a part of the force of the Berar Raja under his command to participate in the outrage committed on British territory, at Rydee in Chotanagpur (August 25, 1817). On the 18th June Roughsedge took possession of the fort of Sambal-pore and the district, which with Sirgooja and their dependencies came to be ceded by the Raja of Berar to the British Government.(13) Jenkins informed Roughsedge on July 28 that Captain Sparkes with a detachment of 100 men had lately been destroyed near Beitoool by a body of Arabs and other troops proceeding to join Appa Sahib in the Mahadeo hills. In a letter dated the 25th September there is a reference to Appa Sahib's passing with a large force through Sohagpore. On 3rd October, 1818 Sinnock informed Roughsedge that Appa Sahib was in the Mahadeo hills at the head of an army estimated at 80,000 men with which he was prepared to move upon either Nagpore or Chutteesgurh and that he was being secretly assisted by Sindhia and Holkar. On 19th January, 1819 Jenkins informed Roughsedge that a defeat was inflicted upon 500 Gonds and Pindaris under their chief Gutty Singh, Ram Singh and Pertab Singh by the 1st Battalion 2nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry under Major Duncan.

Precautions were also taken in Orissa. In a letter dated 3rd January, 1818 the Secretary to Government pointed out to the Commissioner of Cuttack the desirability of taking precautionary measures against the troops and officers of the Raja of Berar, who it was reported, were making an attempt to invade the district of Cuttack.(14) On 4th February Major General Martindell wrote to Melville, Magistrate of Cuttack, informing him that he had received the intelligence that a large body of horse had attempted to pass eastwards and had plundered a party near Ryeghur but they had been opposed and dispersed by the Raja of Voodah (*Sic. Bod*). (15)

K. P. MITRA.

(12) He then returned to Jodhpur, where he died in 1840.

(13) Roughsedge to Wauchope, Superintendent Political Affairs, Bundelkhand and R. Ker, Commissioner Cuttack, 18th June, 1818.

(14) Records in the record room of the Commissioner of Cuttack.

(15) The foregoing account is based on the unpublished records preserved in the record rooms of the Commissioner of Chotanagpore at Ranchi, and of the Commissioner of Orissa and Collector of Cuttack at Cuttack.

## Some unpublished English Letters of Historical Importance.

---

IN course of sorting the files of unpublished records, so long preserved in the office of the District Judge of Patna and now stored in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, I discovered a number of letters, containing some useful and important details with regard to the different aspects of the history of India during the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this paper I have studied only a few of these, relating to the political history of the period under review.

### WIVES AND CHILDREN OF WAZIR ALI.

At the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore in December, 1937, I read a paper on the "Conspiracy of Wazir Ali" by utilising some unpublished records, discovered by me at Patna. I mentioned there how after the suppression of this abortive conspiracy, Wazir Ali was kept in confinement in Calcutta till his death in 1817 A.D. But what happened of his wives and children then remained unrevealed. A few months back I got seven letters<sup>(1)</sup> in some of the files, already referred to, from which it is known that they were kept in Bihar under the strict control and supervision of the Company. Illahee Khanum, a wife of Wazir Ali's, was sent from Lucknow with her son to Patna in March 1807 by J. Collins, Resident at Lucknow. Both mother and son were accommodated there at Government cost, an allowance of Rs. 70 per mensem, exclusive of the charge of house-rent, being granted to them for maintenance. As "the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khanum and her son at the public expense" was "the security of her son by Vizier Ali", so that he might not be exploited by disaffected persons to organise any anti-British conspiracy, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, on enquiring of Mr. H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, if he could "provide suitable accommodation" for them at Patna, informed him on the 14th June, 1806, that any arrangement which he might "propose for their accommodation" must necessarily "combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience". Mr. Douglas made necessary arrangements for the residence of Illahee Khanum and her son at Patna and informed the Governor-General of these on the 10th April, 1807. The Governor-General entirely approved of the steps taken by him. Another wife and a son of Wazir Ali were accommodated at Monghyr on a pension of Rs. 35 per mensem. Soon the Government decided to remove Illahee Khanum and her son also to Monghyr.

---

(1) *Vide* Appendix 'A' to this paper.



Illahee Khannum objected to this arrangement. But the Government instructed the Magistrate of Patna "to adopt such measures" as he might deem "necessary to enforce her departure"(2) to Monghyr, as they considered it "absolutely necessary that her son by Vizier Ally should be removed to that station".(3)

### ZAMAN SHAH.

One letter from Mr. G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, to Mr. H. Douglas, dated the 3rd June, 1799, shows that the Government asked the latter to "ascertain and report" whether there was "any vakeel, News-writer or other known Emissary of Zamaan Shah at Patna". Though Zaman Shah's project of invading Hindustan could not be carried into effect due to his troubles in Afghanistan, yet the dread of his invasion kept the British statesmen in India in constant alarm and anxiety. Zaman Shah's alliance was sought not only by Tipu Sultan of Mysore,(4) an inveterate foe of the English, but also by Wazir Ali(5) and by Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad.(6) In fact, some of the disaffected Muslim rulers in India then tried to organise a wide-spread conspiracy against the "supremacy of the English" with the aid of Zaman Shah. The English, therefore, were quite naturally vigilant enough to enquire about the presence of Zaman Shah's agents in Bihar or elsewhere within India.

### THE DUTCH AT PATNA.

There are also some letters referring to the Dutch factory at Patna during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Dutch had established a factory at Patna even before Tavernier visited this city in 1666 A.D. Captain Alexander Hamilton wrote in 1727 A.D. :—"Patna is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the English and Dutch have factories for saltpetre and raw silk". The site of the Dutch factory is still known as the *Holloandez Posta* ; but no trace of its buildings has survived. We know from copious references in the records of the English Company how the Dutch were their great commercial rival in the East during the first half of the eighteenth century.(7) The results of Plassey made the Dutch extremely jealous of English ascendancy in Bengal, but all their aspirations were dashed to the ground with their crushing defeat at Bedara on the 23rd November, 1759.

Again, in course of a few years after Bedara, the Anglo-Dutch relations in India turned to be hostile under the influence of extra-Indian politics. The adhesion of Holland to the league against England during the War of American Independence was followed by a declaration of war on the part of England and seizure of Dutch colonies. In pursuance of this policy, Lord Macartney,

(2) *Vide* Appendix 'A', No. 6.

(3) *Vide Ibid*, No. 7.

(4) *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1934.

(5) *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Fourteenth Session, pp. 76-77.

(6) *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1937.

(7) K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 368-86.

Governor of Madras, drove the Dutch out of Madras and Pulicat, and in November 1781 captured the Dutch settlement of Negapatam.(8) The Dutch forts and factories in Bengal and Bihar were also seized by the English without much difficulty, as the English, apprehending a rupture with the Dutch for sometime, had not allowed them to maintain strong garrisons in their settlements.(9) But after the termination of the War of American Independence by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the Dutch got back most of their possessions in India,(10) and in the year 1788 the Dutch settlement of Baranagore was exchanged for the English territories contiguous to their factory at Hughli.(11)

The Dutch power was badly affected in Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. On the conquest of Holland by France in 1795, the Dutch possessions in India were placed under the protection of the English for their safety against the French,(12) and the English issued the following proclamation(13):—"Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stadtholder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain, we do by this Proclamation issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by his Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter".

The Marquis of Wellesley contemplated an expedition against the Dutch at Batavia, as the Dutch were then in alliance with the French, but it could

(8) E. H. Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 400.

(9) *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng. Trans.), Vol. IV, pp. 118-19.

(10) Consultations, 23rd November, 1784.

(11) Consultations, 12th January, 1789.

(12) Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 14th August, 1795 (Patna District Judge Court, Unpublished Records).

(13) *Ibid.*

not be sent out.(14) When Mr. Sohnlein, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna, died in May, 1803 his effects were sent by Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, according to the desire of the deceased, to his executors, Messrs. Bowman of Chinsurah and Ullman of Fulta.(15) During the Governor Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-13), the Dutch lost Cape of Good Hope, the Spice Islands and Amboyna.(16) But Java and the Dutch possessions within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government were restored to the Dutch by Lord Hastings.(17) The territories of the Dutch in *moujah* Octler Nowapore in *paragana* Sonhit near Balasore, of which the Dutch agent at Balasore had been dispossessed, were also given back to them in 1820.(18)

#### THE DANES AT PATNA.

We can have some idea about the condition of the Danish factory at Patna from a few letters. An article, entitled 'Danes in India', was published in the Journal of the Indian History, 1934. But the history of the Danes in this country has not yet been adequately dealt with anywhere. So far as Patna is concerned, the Danes started a factory here in 1775 A.D., with George Hendrich Berner as its chief till his death in 1790 A.D. The Patna collections contain two letters written by Berner to the local Magistrate on the 29th May and the 3rd June, 1790. The Danes at Patna frequently complained to the local Magistrate about the troubles caused to them by 'Ghat Manjees' (*majhis* at the ferry ghats at Patna), and some English sergeants. They too sometimes adopted retaliatory measures, for which however they were summoned for trial in the Magistrate's court. But in 1795-96 A.D., Mr. F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, considered that he had received a "degrading usage" by being summoned to the *adalat* at Patna by Mr. Douglas "on the complaint of a native". So, according to the instruction of the Danish Government at Tranqueber, Mr. A. Bie, chief of the Danish Factory at Fredericknagore (Serampore), represented to the English Government in Calcutta on the 12th August, 1796, that in his opinion it appeared "too humiliating that a person in public capacity shall be subject to be summoned to appear in the Adaulat at Patna on any complaint of the Natives, and in case of non-obedience to the summons, to be arrested and committed to jail; which are the very words of Mr. Douglas to Mr. Schielke".(19) But the Governor-General did not think it "proper to grant any exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Court in favour of Mr. Schielke or others", and ordered Mr. Douglas "to enforce obedience to the process", which he might have "occasion to issue against him, in the same manner" as he was "authorised by the Regulations to enforce obedience to the process of the Court in the cases of other

(14) Journal of Indian History, 1932, p. 52.

(15) Letter from Messrs. Playdell and D. V. Kerim to H. Douglas, dated 23rd May and 24th June, 1803 (Patna District Judge Court, Unpublished Records).

(16) Thornton, The History of the British Empire in India, Vol. IV, pp. 181-95 and pp. 200-201.

(17) Consultations, 26th October and 17th December, 1816.

(18) Letter from D. A. Overbeck, Resident at Chinsurah, to W. L. Melville, Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, dated Chinsurah the 2nd February, 1820. (Cuttack Unpublished Records).

(19) Vide Appendix 'D', No. 6.

Individuals".(20) When in 1801 Denmark entered into hostilities with Great Britain, Tranqueber, Serampore, and the factory and property of the Danes at Patna, were seized by the English. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, was strongly determined to occupy the Danish settlements in India and was highly pleased on getting an opportunity for it. He wrote to Dundas, President of the Board of Control:—"You already know how injurious Tranquebar has proved to our interests during the whole of the present war. I assure you that the Danish settlement of Serampore is in some respects a still greater evil. Its vicinity to the seat of Government in Bengal renders it peculiarly obnoxious ; adventurers of every nation, Jacobins of every description, swarm at Serampore, and it is the asylum of all our public defaulters and debtors".(21) But the possessions of the Danes in India were given back to them after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed in March, 1802. Their factory at Patna was restored to Captain Vonder Osten, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, in October 1802.(22) But when Napoleon issued the famous Berlin Decrees towards the close of October, 1806, England, with a view to check the growing French aggression in the Baltic, destroyed or appropriated the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. These European events had repercussions on Indian politics, as had already been the case on many occasions during the eighteenth century.

The Governor-General in Council in Calcutta immediately resolved that "possession be taken in His Majesty's name of all Forts, Factories and possessions and of all ships and property belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company in the East Indies".(23) Accordingly, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, wrote to Mr. H. Douglas on the 27th January, 1808, to capture all Factories, buildings, property, records, etc., of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company, found within his jurisdiction, and to consider all "Civil, Military and Marine officers and all Europeans in the service of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company" as "Prisoners of War".(24) Gradually the Danes lost all their possessions in India by the year 1845 A.D.

#### JASWANT RAO HOLKAR.

There is one letter referring to the enlistment of 150 soldiers by Jaswant Rao Holkar in the district of Jaunpur. The Governor-General in Council thereupon considered it to be of the "utmost importance that the Enemy should not possess the means of recruiting his Forces from the possessions of the British Government", and Mr. J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government, wrote to Mr. Douglas on the 10th August, 1805, that he should "employ every practicable effort to prevent this practice within the district" under his charge (25).

(20) *Vide Ibid.*, No. 7.

(21) Martin, *Wellesley, Despatches*, Vol. II, p. 204.

(22) *Vide Appendix 'D'*, No. 13.

(23) *Vide ibid.*, No. 15.

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) *Vide Appendix 'E'*.

## APPENDIX.

(A).

1. "I am directed to desire that you will report to me, for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, whether you can provide suitable accommodation at Patna for Illahee Khanum, a wife of Vizier Alli with one son ; and on what terms.

As the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khanum and her son at the public expense is the security of her son by Vizier Alli, I am inclined to inform you that any arrangement which you may propose for their accommodation must necessarily combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience.

It would be necessary to exercise every degree of vigilance for the safe custody of Vizier Alli's son, and to station a guard at the residence of Illahee Khanum to admit of as many sentries as might be requisite to prevent unobserved egress or ingress with a view to prevent the possibility of conveying away the Boy from his mother's residence.

To assist your judgement in regulating the expense of providing accommodation for Illahee Khanum and her son, I am directed to observe to you, that another wife and son of Vizier Alli are accommodated at Monghyr for the sum of 35 rupees per mensem".

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated 15th June, 1806.)

2. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th ultimo, reporting the arrival at Patna of Illahee Khanum and her son, and the arrangements which you have made for their accommodation, and for the security of the person of Illahee Khanum's son.

The Honorable the Governor-General in Council entirely approves your proceedings on this occasion.

With reference to the 3rd paragraph of your letter, I am directed to inform you that the allowance of 70 Rupees per mensem, which has been assigned to the support of Illahee Khanum and her son, should be exclusive of all charge of house rent, and that it should be paid in the same manner as all other pensions are paid." (Letter from J. Moncton, Persian Secretary to Government, dated Fort William, 15th May, 1807.)

3. "I have the honour to apprise you that I have this day dispatched by water Illahee Khanum and her son, under the charge of two of my chuprassies accompanied by the persons mentioned in the enclosed list.

The pension which Government has been pleased to settle upon Illahee Khanum is Eighty Rupees per month, commencing from the 16th of November last. I offered to discharge her arrears from that date to the 1st instant, but she signified to me her wish of drawing for the same upon her arrival at Patna.

I, therefore, request that whenever Illahee Khannum applies to you, for the payment of her stipend, you will have the goodness to pay the same at the rate of 80 Rupees per month, reckoning the commencement thereof from the 16th of November". (Letter from J. Collins, Resident at Lucknow, to H. Douglas, dated Lucknow, the 7th March, 1807.)

4. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and to inform you, that the necessary order has been issued to the Collector of Bihar authorising the payment of Illahee Khannum's pension of 70 Rupees per mensem, from the date of her arrival at Patna, together with any arrear which may have been due to her at the period of her arrival there". (Letter from J. Moncton to H. Douglas, dated 19th May, 1807).

5. "The Fort adjutant at Monghyr having reported that the accommodations provided for the son of Vizier Allie and his mother who are at present under your charge are nearly ready for their reception I am directed to desire that you will take measures for sending under a proper guard those persons as soon as may be convenient to Monghyr, that you will be pleased at the same time to furnish Lieutenant Nugent with such information regarding the family transferred to his care as may be requisite for his guidance and to apprise him of the amount of the stipend allowed by Government and the period to which the family have been paid by you". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated 28th March, 1807).

6. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant stating the aversion of the wife of Vizier Ally to proceed to Mongheer and desiring to know how you are to act in the event of her continued refusal to leave the city of Patna.

I am directed to inform you that no such condition as that which she states to have been made with Colonel Collins is known to Government nor ever was or would have been agreed to. As Government considers it to be necessary that she and her son should reside at Mongheer, you will be pleased to inform her, that her proceeding thither cannot be dispensed with, and if she should persist in her refusal, you are authorised and required to adopt such measures, as you may deem necessary to enforce her departure. You will of course however use such means of compulsion as are most consistent with mildness and delicacy. You are authorised to make such disbursements as may be required for the hire of boats and other necessary expenses of the journey, and you will submit to the Civil Auditor's office a contingent bill for the amount which you may expend.

You will make such communication to Lieutenant Nugent respecting the family as may be required by the circumstances attending their departure from Patna". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated the 16th May, 1808).

7. "On the 18th July last, I signified to you by order of Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that His Lordship in Council did not think it requisite to insist on Illahee Khannum herself proceeding to Monghyr, but that it was absolutely necessary that her son by Vizier Ally should be removed

to that station. It appearing from a letter from the Fort Adjutant at Monghyr, that the son of Illahee Khanum has not yet arrived there, I am directed to desire that you will report the reason of the delay which has taken place, in carrying the orders of Government of the 18th July into execution". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, 27th May, 1809.)

## (B)

"I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will ascertain and report whether there is any Vakeel, News-writer or other known Emissary of Zemaun Shah at Patna". (Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 3rd June 1799, to H. Douglas.)

## (C)

1. "The state of affairs in Holland having induced the Prince Stadholder, who has retired to England to give orders for the admission of British Troops into the several Dutch Settlements in India, for their protection, against the French, the Governor General in Council is pleased to desire that you will communicate them to the Chief of the Dutch Factory at Patna with a requisition to him to deliver up that settlement, on the Terms and conditions specified in the enclosed Proclamation to be held in the name of His Britannic Majesty, under the condition of its being restored at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which the Independence and constitution of the Republic, as guaranteed in 1788, shall be maintained and secured.

In the event of this requisition being complied with, you will take possession of the Factory in the name of His Majesty, hoist the British flag there, and cause the Proclamation to be publicly read.

In the event of a refusal on the part of the Dutch Chief to comply with your requisition for delivering up the Factory to our temporary possession, you are to forward the enclosed letter to the Commanding Officer at Dinapore, who is directed therein to detach a Military Force to take possession of it, and to deliver up the keys to you.

This having been done, you will take an Inventory of the Public Property and effects at Patna, and instead of the proclamation above-mentioned, you will issue one, on your own part omitting such of the clauses as have relation of the continuance of the Dutch administration, and stating the following.

That the Law and Customs shall not be infringed.

That no fresh taxes or Duties will be imposed.

That Permission will be granted to the subjects of the United States to trade to and from the English Company's Settlements with the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and every endeavour will be used to promote, in their behalf, the extension of these advantages in the most liberal manner.

You will be particularly observant that the Inhabitants are treated with attention and kindness and you will assure them that they may depend upon both.

One copy of the Inventory is to be attested by the Dutch Chief and transmitted to me. The other copy is to be attested by you and delivered to him. The Public Property and Effects are to remain in your custody, subject to our future orders, and you will advise us of any and what, articles appear to you to be in a perishable state, or might suffer by being kept.

Your future correspondence on the subject of the Dutch Factory at Patna is to be carried on with Mr. Birch, the Commissioner for Chinsurah and its Dependencies, and you will attend to any communications you may receive from him upon it". (Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, dated 14th August, 1795, to H. Douglas.)

#### ENGLISH VERSION OF THE PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightiness the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government whereby the Stadholder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain, We do by this Proclamation issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession ; in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by his Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter".

(D)

1. "I have the honour to request you to send a Chaparassie of the Patna Court to take in custody Jeto Ghauth Manjee and other persons, now at this Factory. I shall prosecuth them in the Patna Court, on account of making



constantly Disturbance at the Factory's Ghauth. Jeto came last night at the Factory's Ghauth, and did also into six Difference Boats, and as the Manghe did not like to go, he being Ghauth manje of the Killa here at Patna at present, did come this morning with six Sepoys with Bayonets, to take the Boats by force, and as He could not get them all, He toke (took) one of the Boats along with them, the Sergeant of the Patna Killa came to me after it had happened to justify the conduct of Jeto, or as I did tell him, that it had never been customary to send sepoys armes here to the Factory, he told me that he came *by his order*, and that he hade lend them. I therefore request to leth me know if the sergeant can be prosecuted in the Patna Court, or if I may prosecuth him at Dinapore, I have told the Sergeant that I shall refeare the matter to the Magistrate at Patna, here it will be setlet after Justice, that I would not by any meance take my serjants post, or if he are in fault, he shall be punist according to the Laws of the country. I request that the Manghe on boats may be Released, which he took away to the Killa, his name is Ballsser Manghe. You will recollect that it has so often happened that Jeto has made disturbance here, or it often happened that Sepoys are lend here in this manner with Bayonets". (Letter from G. A. Schilke, Resident of the Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 26th November, 1795.)

2. "Captain Morrissen the Brigeath Major from Dinapore has been in Patna and setlet the matter between the Sergeat, Jeto Manghee and me. I therefore bege you will have the goodness and realese Jeto if agreable to you". (Letter from same to same, dated 30th November, 1795.)

3. "I have been honoured with your letter of the 5th instant, and after due consideration on the nature of your request, beg leave to acquaint you that consistent with the station I now hold, and my Allegiance to His Danish Majesty whose servant I am—I cannot give up Moneddeen the Ghaut Manjee, or Horis Chaparasie—they being in the service of his Danish Majesty—without incurring Censure from My superiors. Upon strict enquiry I find that not any Boats have been taken away by force, by any of the Servants belonging to this Factory after the return of the Vakeel from your Court and acquainting me that it was not your Pleasure to let the Boats remain in the Ghaut Manghe's possession, I immediately ordered that he should not have anything to do with them. I have the honour to enclose a Deposition or Akranama (Ekranama) of seven of the manjees witnessed by People at Marowf Ghwnge, which I conceive will clear up all doubts in this Business. Two out of the Nine Boats are with Jeetoh—and as the other seven Boats the Manjes having hired themselves out and were gone to take in these Loading at Nowyadah made it Necessary for Me to send for them and prevented my being able to reply to your letter sooner—I am very sorry to observe from what the Vakeel acquaints me—that although the complaint Moneddeen made in your Court was dismissed, He was Fined the sum of Thirty Rupees, the reason why this fine was laid upon him, I should esteem myself greatly obliged by being made acquainted with—and hope after the matter I have herein stated the case, it will render it needless for either of us to address our

superiors for instructions". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of his Danish Majesty, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, the 12th January, 1796.)

4. "I have been Honoured with your letter of the 15th instant, and am sorry that my letter of the 12th has not been fully satisfactory to settle the Business in question respecting the Ghaut Mangee and I now beg leave to repeat that I cannot deviate from the Reasons I therein gave, for not delivering up his Danish Majesty's servants to your officer, I therefore am under the Necessity of referring the Business to be settled by my superiors—the Governor General and Council at Tranqueber". (Letter from same to same.)

5. "I have received the Decree of the Cause which was setlet in the Adaulat the 2 Inst. between a Sircare of Mr. Pottes and myself but there are no copy of the depositions of (Messrs Dwevergne, Ferras or MacIvers). I have therefore the Honour to request you so send them per Bearer as they have been demanded by my superiors". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 30th of May, 1796.)

6. "I am very sorry to be troublesome to you, on account of a complaint preferred by the Danish Resident at Patna Mr. Schielke to the Royal Government at Tranqueber, against the degrading usage he considers himself to have been treated with, by being sommoned by your Magistrate at Patna Mr. Douglas to appear at the Adaulat there, on the complaint of a native whom Mr. Schielke has given a slight concetion, after that he, in a most insolent and provoking manner with clenched fists hath behaved to him, and which is proved by two witnesses.

The Government at Tranqueber, has directed me to represent that matter to your Government in such a manner as I should deem it most suitable ; and as it appears to me to be of such a nature, that it may be, by your interference, as a trifling political matter easily redressed. I beg leave to represent that it in my opinion appears too humiliating that a person in public capacity shall be subject to be summoned to appear in the Adaulat at Patna on any complaint of the Natives and in case of non-obedience to the summons, to be arrested and committed to Jail ; which are the very words of Douglas to Mr. Scheilke. To the best of my memory, I believe that I for few years ago, have seen Regulations of your Government for the Adaulat at Patna, whereby not only the French Resident, but every Individual of that nation, are exempted from being summoned to appear in the Adaulat. Should my remembrance be right, I flatter me that you will not deem it extravagant, that I see that the same consideration, may be granted Mr. Schielke his Majesty's Resident at Patna.

In the several disputes he has had with your Magistrate at Patna it is far from, that I approve of his conduct in general, and very sensible of, that he has not the smallest claim to any kind of jurisdiction or to assume any Power of Government, and I am fully pleased that he for the future, never will attempt to interfere with the authority of your Magistrate there, as the Government of Tranqueber has on that respect, laid him under very serious injunction. Should any well-grounded complaints for the future be against Mr. Schielke, except for atrocious crimes, I request that your Magistrate may

be directed to refer them to me when they shall be attended to and meet the most speedy redress and strictest justice". [Letter from A. Bie. chief of Fredericknagore (Serampore), dated 12th August, 1796, annexed to a letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, to H. Douglas, dated Council Chamber, Calcutta, 9th September, 1796.]

7. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, and inform you that the Governor General in Council considers the explanation of your conduct in regard to the complaint preferred by Mr. Schielke satisfactory.

(b) The Governor General in Council does not think proper to grant any exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Court in favour of Mr. Schielke or others, and you are accordingly desired to enforce obedience to the process which you may have occasion to issue against him in the same manner as you are authorised by the Regulations to enforce obedience to the process of the Court in the cases of other Individuals.

(c) Should Mr. Schielke offer open and violent resistance to your authority you are authorised to have recourse to the aid of a Military Force, but the Governor General in Council trusts that there can be no necessity for proceeding to such extremities.

(d) Information of these resolutions will be communicated to the Chief and Council of Fredericknagore that they may furnish Mr. Schielke with the necessary instructions, and apprise him of the consequences which will attend an opposition to the authority and process of the Courts of Justice". (Letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, dated Council Chamber, 7th October, 1796 to H. Douglas.)

8. "Your favour of the 1st Instant with its Inclosures I have received. I have appointed Vakeels to answer, for me, in your Court, to any complaints that may be made against me". (Letter from F. A. Schilkee to H. Douglas, dated 21st November, 1796).

9. "A few days ago I complained to you that two Boats I hired for a gentleman in his Majesty's 27th Light Dragoons were unjustly seized, and you ordered them to be given up. I sent one of these Boats for 300 Mds. of Gram a little distance down the River and when about one hundred Mds. of Gram was loaded—Mr. Schielke the Danish Consuls Peons—seized her a second time—by which delay and expence has been incurred—indeed. The conduct of this gentleman's servants is very oppressive. This day—Mr. Schielke has again seized another Boat—he has beat a Mangie—or rather his people has beaten—the man has been plundered of his cloaths and his Boat is detained by force—in order to extort money from him. The conditions exercised by Peons under the Danish Consuls name, are intolerable and require your interference". (Letter from D. V. Kerim, Captain, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated Patna, 27th October, 1797.)

10. "Thro' my Vakeel, an Arzee was presented in your Court, in consequence of a Dingy which is my property having been stole by the people, and taken over on the other side of the River, where it is now laying and

has been seen by my People—my Vakeel acquaints me, that you inform him the complaint must be referred to the Dewany Adawlat—and that some Person must swear to its having been stole—this is a point out of my power to ascertain as the Dingy was taken away in the Night—Mooty my Chaprassee now in Jail is the person that has seen it hawld ashore at Singuatpore, therefore as its clear Gopaul Dubeh or some of his People have taken away the Dingy I have only to request you will please to issue an order for its being returned to me having immediate occasion to send it to Malda to Major Hawkshan with a few maunds of potatoes". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated the 29th February, 1798.)

11. "Understanding that you have ordered yesterday one of the Choprasies belonging to his Danish Majesty's Factory at this place into custody, and since that two more were taken away this morning by the Thannah Peons, I am at a loss to know the reason of it. I should therefore esteem it as a favour to order them to be released. The names of the Choprasies are Horrie, Munnoo and Ramjanam". (Letter from Robert Gornis, Overseer, Danish Majesty's Factory, Patna, dated 9th September, 1806, to C. F. Sealy, Acting Magistrate of Patna.)

12. "Frederick Alexander Schilcke aforesaid make the oath, and saith that the person mentioned by the name of Crawford in the said Deposition of this Deponent, is in reality called Morland, that he, this Deponent is not acquainted with the said Morland's Christian name, but that be the said Morland is the brother of Augustine Brisco Morland, Lieutenant in His Majesty's Seventy Sixth Regiment at Dinapore. And he this Deponent further saith that he the said Morland did assault and put this Deponent in bodily fear at the time and in the manner described in this Deponent's Deposition aforesaid; and that he, this Deponent is afraid the said Morland, will beat, maim, wound or kill him this Deponent; and he this Deponent for that reason and not from malice, prays that surety of the peace may be granted to him against the said Morland who the Deponent understand is now at the House of George Arbuthnot Esquire at Muzafferpore in the District of Tirhoot" (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 4th Septembr, 1798.)

13. "I am directed by His Excellency, the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 30th ultimo and to communicate to you, the order of His Excellency in Council for the restoration of the Danish Factory and Public Property at Patna, to Captain Vonder Osten His Danish Majesty's Resident whenever he shall have satisfied you that he is duly authorised to receive the same, or to any person who shall be duly authorized for that purpose by Mr. Bie". (Letter from J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, the 11th October, 1802.)

14. "On the 13th Instant the nazier of the office informed me that he had reason to suspect a boat under dispatch to Serampore belonging to Captain Vonder Osten the Danish Resident at Patna contained some illicit

Trade on board I directed him in consequence to order the Jemmadar on the Tellasse boat to following and made the customary search.

On the following day he informed me that the Jemmadar came up with the boat at Futwah a place distant about five miles from the Danish Factory that he found her laden with Sealed Boxes, Jars, a considerable quantity of onions and a certain number of bags supposed to contain grain four of which were also sealed—that the Jemmadar was opposed in attempting the usual search though he offered to make use of Ram rod of the musket of a Sepoy in charge of the boat in consequence of Captain Vonder Ostan's people having objected to the introduction of the searching Rod on account of its size.

A Peon belonging to the Custom House can give evidence to this fact and I have requested that the Collector of Government Customs would be good as to allow him to be summoned for this purpose (his name is Rammoo—his station Futwah). He was present and joined with my people in trying to persuade the persons in charge of the boat to consent to this form but without effect as they persisted in saying "you may break the Seals of the Bags if you think proper we will not permit a search in any other terms".

At a loss how to act the Jemmadar detained the boat and sent off an express to inform me of the particulars. With a view to prevent any dispatches I immediately ordered the Nazier to proceed without delay to Futwah and to explain the necessity to Captain Vonder Osten's people of their permitting the Search and that it could do no manner of injury to the contents of the bags. What followed you will learn from copy of the Nazier's Petition to me which I have the pleasure to enclose and I beg leave to request you will take his Deposition on oath as well as that of the Jemmadar as to the facts asserted by them in their reports to me.

It is necessary to observe that on my receiving intelligence of Captain Vonder Osten's having ordered his boat to return to Patna I addressed the Custom master requesting he would appoint an officer to be present at the search and I have this day requested he would allow the person he deputed to attend that his Evidence may attest or disprove what my nazier has advanced respecting what took place on the return of the boat to Patna during the Examination.

The circumstance which gave rise to the suspicion of the boat containing illicit Trade is that a Seapoy by name Feckoo in the employment of the Danish Resident came to the Jemmadar's House a few days previous to the dispatch of the boat and in the presence of two witnesses by name Muckoo and Colaup informed him that about two maunds were ready, that a boat would shortly be dispatched and that he would go on board her and therefore advised him to be on a the lookout—you will oblige me by examining the Jemmadar and Witnesses upon oath on this subject.

This Seapoy it appears was on board the boat when my people attempted to search it.

As I am prohibited by the Board of Trade from holding Public Correspondence with any of the gentleman appointed to Patna from the foreign Settlements I beg leave to request should you have no objection that you

will inform Captain Von Der Osten the Danish Resident of my having addressed you on the above subject and that he will oblige me by coming forward with any complaint he may have to make against the public servants employed by me in the late affair as I shall be very happy to have them punished should they be proved on investigation to have acted contrary to the Regulations laid down by Government for the conduct of the amlah attached to this office". (Letter from Playdell, Opium Agent, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, the 17th June, 1803.)

15. "In consequence of intelligence which has been received of a Rupture between Great Britain and Denmark the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council has resolved that possession be taken in His Majesty's name of all forts, factories and possessions and of all ships and property belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company in the East Indies.

You will accordingly take possession in the name of His Majesty of all factories and buildings and of all property within the limits of your jurisdiction and also of all papers, accounts and Records belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company.

All Civil, Military and Marine officers and all Europeans in the service of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company are to be considered as Prisoners of War—you will receive on Parol all such of their officers and Europeans as from their Rank and character may appear to you entitled to that indulgence : and you will send the remainder of the Prisoners to Fort William, furnishing them with the necessary conveyance and expenses for the journey.

You will without delay report the measures which you may take in consequence of these orders and transmit lists of the Persons who may be taken Prisoners, and statements specifying the particular and estimated value of the property of every description which you may take possession.

I am directed to add that all the property of which possession may be taken under these orders are to be held at the disposal of his Majesty who will hereafter determine on its appropriation.

You will apply to the Commanding officer of the nearest Military station for any aid which you may require to enable you to execute those orders.

You will be careful that in the execution of these orders, the utmost degree of humanity, liberality and attention be manifested towards the persons whom they may affect". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, the 27th January, 1808.)

16. Received from Mr. Robert Gomis, Overseer of his Danish Majesty's factory at Patna, the following property belonging to His Danish Majesty, viz. :—

One large Almira with Sundry Papers.

One flag.

Thirty two muskets with thirty one bayonets.

Five Brass Badges.

One Brass Bell and a Copper Katowra.

(Dated, Patna the 3rd February, 1808).

(E)

*Recruitment of troops by Jaswant Rao Holkar.*

"By information received from the Right Hon'ble Lord Lake it appears that a party of one hundred and fifty Recruits recently enlisted for the service of Jusswant Rao Holkar in the District of Jaunpore in the Zamindary of Benares, had crossed the Ganges at Joassie Ghaut, three coss below Allahabad, and had proceeded to join that Chieftain.

As it is of the utmost importance that the Enemy should not possess the means of recruiting his Forces from the possessions of the British Government, the Vice President in Council desires that you will employ every practicable effort to prevent this practice within the district under your charge". (Letter from J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 10th August, 1805 to H. Douglas.)

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

## Job Charnock

---

**J**OB CHARNOCK, who founded the city of Calcutta now well over 251 years ago, was the son of a London Solicitor. He came out to Bengal about the year 1655-56 to try his luck in India for it was not until January, 1657, when his name first appeared in the registers of the East India Company, as a junior member of the Council. Having worked his way up in the service of the Company, he was appointed in 1663 Chief of the Company's factories in Hooghly.

### ROMANTIC ALLIANCE.

It was in this year at Patna that he met the beautiful young Hindu girl of 15 summers, who was to become his wife and the mother of his children. There is nothing on record to prove that he married her under either Christian or Hindu rites, but it may safely be presumed that he merely formed a romantic alliance with her as was the practice in those romantic times.

During the year 1679, the Court of Directors, appreciating his valuable services, appointed him Chief at Kashimbazar and Second on the Council, with the right of succession to the office of Chief of the Bay of Bengal. Charnock, however, did not take up his new duties until the following year, when with his wife and two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, he arrived at Kasimbazar. It was at Kashimbazar in 1682 that his third daughter Catherine was born. Things at Kasimbazar were not going on too smoothly. There were constant troubles with the Nawab Shaista Khan and eventually on the outbreak of hostilities Charnock was obliged to return to Hughli in 1686 as Agent. In the meantime he had succeeded John Beard (Senior) as "Governor of the Bay of Bengal".

The forces of the Nawab followed Charnock to Hooghly, hostilities continued, and finally on December 20, 1686, Charnock was compelled to withdraw with his Council and the entire effects of the Company and establish himself in the swampy village of Sutanuti, the mother of the present city of Calcutta. Pursued by the overwhelming forces of the Nawab, Charnock was obliged to leave Sutanuti in February, 1689 for the malarious and swampy island of Hijili, situated on the western bank of the river Hooghly at its junction with the Rasulpura river. While at Hijili the representatives of the Nawab came to terms with the English and signed a treaty, which later events proved to be a fraudulent transaction.

Charnock at first proceeded higher up the river to Ulluberia, the "abode of owls", but finding the place unsuitable returned to Sutanuti for the second time on September 20, 1687. Hostilities, however, soon broke out, and early



in 1688, Charnock with the remnants of his soldiers embarked on the frigate *Defence* and sailed for Madras. While at Madras, his three daughters were baptised at St. Mary's Church on August 19, 1689, by the Reverend John Evans, formerly Chaplain of the Bay at Calcutta.

### RETURNS TO BENGAL

It was sometime early in 1690 when the Nawab Ibrahim Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, influenced apparently by the Moghul Emperor, Aurangzeb, wrote to Charnock requesting him to return to Bengal and offering to fully compensate him for all the Company's goods that had been plundered or destroyed. On receipt of this request, Charnock, with the consent and approval of the Council at Fort St. George, sailed for Bengal during July of the same year on board the *Princess*.

He arrived on the deserted banks of the river Hooghly at Sutanuti, situated at a point near Nimtalla Ghat between Beniatolla and Sobha Bazar Ghat at midday on Sunday August 24, 1690, for the third and last time. On that memorable day, Charnock hoisted the Standard of England on the desolate banks of the river and finally laid the foundation of the future great city of Calcutta. Hereafter, Charnock remained at Sutanuti and carried on till the time of his death.

The village of Sutanuti derived its name from the number of cotton weavers who had settled here. It was at this time the most prosperous place for the promotion of the English trade in this part of the country.

### COUNCIL UNDER TREE.

At Sutanuti sitting under the shade of a large and shady Neem tree, which served as a landmark to pilots coming up the river, Charnock held his Court, surrounded by his Councillors dressed in *pyjamas* and loose shirts, sipping *Arrak* and smoking richly ornamented hookas. Here too he transacted business and received merchants who used to depart in groups long before sunset, for fear of being attacked by lurking robbers and wild animals which infested the dense jungles extending from there to Sealdah and beyond. This famous Neem tree existed for many years after the death of Charnock, but it is said to have been burnt down sometime in 1879-80.

It is said by some writers that Charnock used to interview merchants under the famous Peepul tree at Boytaccah, near Sealdah and situated at the junction of Bow Bazar Street with Lower Circular Road, but this story is discredited by modern students of history. However, this particular tree was removed by the Marquis of Hastings, in 1820, when he put into operation his improvement scheme for this part of the City.

Charnock and his family appear to have lived quite happily in their unostentatious home in the little fishing village, but there is no doubt that the conditions under which they existed must have been as extremely trying to them as to the other Europeans in Bengal.

---

FIRST ENGLISH WEDDING.

It would be of interest to know that the first English wedding that we known of was performed at Sutanuti where Charnock's eldest daughter, Mary, married Charles Eyre, who in 1694 was appointed Governor of the Bay having previously been created a Knight. It is very probable that Elizabeth and Catherine also married at Sutanuti, the former William Bowridge, a junior merchant and the latter Johnathan White. Charnock also had a son, who died in infancy.

It is said that Charnock used to sacrifice a cock on the grave of his wife every year on the anniversary of her death in conformity with the custom prevailing among low class Hindus in the province of Bihar, but this may be dismissed as one of those fantastic stories which gather round a great personality.

Charnock had by now become an old grey-haired man weakened in body by constant attacks of fever, and exhausted by the climate and other discomforts he had endured during his earlier days. In his old age, we are told, he fell a victim to a severe attack of malaria, to which he succumbed and passed away peacefully on January 10, 1692-93 at the age of 62. He was buried that same night with the aid of lighted torches, as was the custom in the Settlement during that period. The mausoleum in which he rests with his wife, son and his daughters, Manry and Catherine, is still to be seen in the Churchyard of St. John's Church in Calcutta. This mausoleum is in a perfect state of preservation.

Charnock's name is still kept fresh in our memory by the road named after him and called "Charnock Place" near Writers' Buildings. In this connection it may surprise many Calcutta residents to know that in 1898 Totties Lane used to be called Charnock Street.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

---

# Painted Glass Windows, Reredos, Mosaics, Fresco-paintings etc. at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

---

CALCUTTA Churches may well be proud of their painted or stained-glass windows, which so help to illuminate and beautify the eastern walls of their sanctuaries, particularly the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, where the multi-coloured brilliants of these transparent windows are further ornamented with graceful lines of geometrical stone tracery, filled in with coloured tracery lights of figures and floral designs. Those at St. Peter's church, Fort William, erected at a much earlier date, were also splendid examples of colours burnt in on large panes of glass 24" x 16", but unfortunately both these churches lost their best specimens during the devastating cyclones of 1864 and 1867. The Cathedral however still possesses a magnificent painting in the much admired Great West Window, the master-piece in stained-glass of the famous English artist Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones, who was associated with William Morris and Rossetti in their aesthetic movement. This window, which undoubtedly is one of the finest examples of its kind in the east, was erected by the Government of India during 1876 in memory of the Earl of Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1869-1872.

## CHAPEL ROYAL WINDOW.

A superb window of outstanding beauty, acclaimed as a remarkably fine representation of "The Crucifixion", formed the original Great East Window of the Cathedral and was executed in the very finest quality of glass, artistically pictured and worked in the most tasteful colourings. It was a large lancet painting of only one light 44' x 14', without any tracery, and included in the scene "the two thieves with angels flying above" while below were to be seen, the heads and shoulders of the Roman soldiers. Along the base of the window ran the following inscription, also worked in coloured glass:—

"I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all *men* unto me."

John xii-32.

The painting, which is said to have cost £4000, was presented to Bishop Daniel Wilson by the Dean and Chapter of St. George's Chapel

Royal, Windows, during January, 1844, with the approval and consent of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, for the ornamentation of the eastern wall of his Cathedral—the first Protestant Episcopal Cathedral church to be erected in all Hindoostan. The necessary arrangements made to receive and erect the window were carried out by a Mr. Hervey of the Government Iron-yard, and the painting was placed safely in position over the Altar some time during February, 1847.

Unfortunately the methods adopted to secure the safety of such a large window against the violence of the Indian storms, appear to have been insufficient for we are told that it was erected without mullions and on only a thin iron frame protected on the outer side by a frail covering of fine wire gauze. As a result of this defect, the window was not able to stand the strain and fury of the terrible hurricane, of unprecedented violence, which swept over the city on 5th October, 1864, and in consequence was blown in to pieces and completely destroyed.

#### ORIGIN OF WINDOW.

The origin of this window dates as far back as the year 1787, when a set of three painted windows was presented to St. George's Chapel Royal by King George the Third, on his restoration of that sacred edifice. The paintings were designed at His Majesty's command by Benjamin West and Forrest, from a picture by Jervias, and were made for the purpose of ornamenting the western walls of the west aisle of the Royal chapel. It was however found later, that to erect all these windows would involve, as in the case of the Eastern window, an enormous amount of labour and expense for the removal of the heavy stone work, tracery, etc. with the exception of the two main mullions and in consequence, it was decided to considerably modify the scheme.

As a result of this change of plans, the two smaller windows only were completed and erected, while the central window, of which only the main group had been completed at the time of Forrest's death, lay abandoned and in its incomplete state in the Chapter House at Windsor for over 50 years. This painting, we are told, bore some resemblance to the painted glass window of "The Nativity" which was executed by West and Jervias and placed in the New College chapel at Oxford.

Incidentally the window presented to the Cathedral recalls another somewhat similar story connected with the Royal chapel in connection with West's Altar-piece which was placed in position at the chapel in 1790. This altar-piece displaced one that had occupied the same position at the time of the great rebellion, 1642-1649 and which had probably been removed, but brought back to the Altar in 1702. It was a striking representation of "The Last Supper" and remained in position until it was superseded by West's Altar-piece when it was presented to the Parish Church at Windsor.

### PRESENT GREAT EAST WINDOW.

For almost five years after the destruction of the first window, the open space in the eastern wall at the Cathedral remained veiled with yards of fine hessian cloth, until the present painted glass window was placed in position sometime during 1869. This window was designed and executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell of 311 Regent Street, London, at a cost of £850, which was subscribed by local Cathedral friends and the members of the congregation. The firm also provided the double stone mullion and tracery to protect the window from the ravages of cyclonic storms and these were made after the style of the stone work used at Christ's Church Cathedral, Oxford and cost a sum of Rs. 1,174/- to erect.

The window consists of 28 large coloured lights representing scenes from the principal events in our Lord's life, i.e. "The Passion", "The Crucifixion", "The Resurrection", "The Ascension", "The Pentecost", etc. and above these are graceful lines of geometrical tracery filled in with 21 coloured figures and other floral designs worked in glass. Unfortunately the window on being assembled was found to be a misfit, being 18 inches shorter at the top of the moulded arch than the original window and in consequence, the intervening vacant space between the window and the arch was temporarily bricked in and plastered over as we see it to-day. This was done as the Cathedral Vestry of that time were of opinion that "as the alteration of plaster and moulding would be both troublesome and expensive, this should be deferred to some future occasion."

### "BURN" WINDOW.

This window, another misfit, was ordered by Bishop Cotton in June, 1866, but unfortunately the Prelate did not live to see it erected, for as most of us know, he met with his untimely death at Kushtea on 6th October, 1866, when he was accidentally drowned in the river Gorai. Mrs. Cotton however, desirous of carrying out his wishes, paid for the coloured glass and offered the window to the Cathedral Vestry, if they would defray the cost of the stone mullion, freight and erecting charges which amounted to Rs. 1984/-. The offer being accepted, the window was duly shipped out to India and arrived with the stone in 1869, but was not erected in its present position over the doorway at the entrance of the north transept, until the year 1873.

The window was designed and executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, and consists of 6 large coloured lights depicting the following subjects:—

"The flight into Egypt"

"Christ blessing little children"

"Jesus took a child and set him in the midst of them"

"St. Philip baptising an Ethiopian"

"St. Peter with keys, baptising the people"

"St. Paul baptising at Ephesus".

Above these are lines of stone tracery filled in with four coloured figures, and other floral designs in glass, while along the base of the window runs the following text also worked in coloured glass:—

"Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory  
Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The window perpetuates the memory of the Reverend Thomas Harris Burn who died at Naini Tal in 1863 and who was Domestic chaplain to Bishop Cotton from 1858 to 1863. A brass plate fixed on the floor to the right of the window, bears the following inscription:—

Ad majorem dei gloriam et in piam memoriam  
Thomae Harris Burn  
Presbyteri  
Qui obdormivit in Christo pridie idus  
Jul. A.D. MDCCCLXIII.

A Georgio Lynch Cotton Hujus Sedis  
Episcopo Sexto cui Septem Annos  
Utilis erat ad ministerium valde  
Desideratus hanc Fenestram Sophia  
Anna Cotton episcopi vidua viri sui  
Voluntatis haud immemor ponendam curavit.

On the arrival of the window it was at first decided by the Cathedral Vestry to place it in the centre of the south wall of the choir, directly behind where the Archdeacon's stall used to be situated in those days, but on the removal of the lancet window it was found that the painting was far too tall to fit into this space. It then lay in the Cathedral Library for over four years while various proposals were being made and rejected as to where it should be placed. Finally in June, 1873 it was decided to erect the window in its present position near the colossal white marble kneeling statue of Bishop Heber, which stood at the entrance of the north transept at that period.

#### GREAT WEST WINDOW.

This magnificent window, the pride of the Cathedral, was designed by Sir Edward Burne-Jones for the Government of India, from a picture chosen by Lady Mayo and approved by Bishop Milman. It was executed by the well-known firm of Messrs. Morris & Company, 26, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.

The window, which is supported on solid, double, stone mullions ornamented with carvings on the inner side, consists of 10 large or main coloured lights, surmounted by 16 illuminated figures, with 5 smaller lights below. All of these, particularly the lower lights, are remarkably striking in their combination and richness of colourings, which together with the delicate workmanship, places the window among the finest specimens of

this firm's production in stained glass. The 10 main lights depict the following subjects:—

"Enoch"  
"David"  
"The Ascension"  
"Solomon"  
"Elijah"  
"St. Thomas"  
"Charity"  
"Weighing of souls"  
"Justice, with sword"  
"St. Paul"

and the 5 lower lights:—

"Building of the ark"  
"Jonah preaching"  
"Brazen serpent"  
"Lot's family"  
"Reception into Paradise"

The design of the light "Jonah preaching", which is a beautiful drawing, has somewhat puzzled many who have tried to study the subjects of this window. This light is peculiarly illustrated by some women in mourning coming out of a city gate led apparently by a man in a helmet and by another who looks like an angel, and does not really appear to look anything like the subject it is meant to represent.

On the floor directly beneath the window is a brass plate which bears the following inscription:—

"This window was erected by the order of the Government of India  
To the Glory of God and in the memory of  
Richard Southwell Bourke

Sixth Earl of Mayo and Fourth Viceroy and Governor-General of India who was assassinated at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands on the 8th day of February A.D. MDCCCLXXII.

This window, which replaced one of plain coloured glass erected in 1847 and destroyed during the severe cyclone of 2nd November, 1867, is among the 14 monuments in the Cathedral which are borne on the books of the Public Works Department and kept in repair by that department. The window is best seen during the afternoon, when the rays of the sun penetrate into every corner of the transparent brilliants causing the figures to stand out in all the radiancy and splendour of their beauty, against a background of glittering gold.

#### "MILMAN" WINDOW.

This is another painted window erected in the Cathedral by the Government of India and placed, to the south of the Great East Window,

in memory of Robert Milman, seventh Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon. Incidentally it is the only window of its kind erected by the Imperial Government to a Bishop of the English Church in India. Bishop Milman, as we know, died at Rawalpindi on 15th March, 1876, while on a visitation to the province of the Punjab. The ladies of this diocese being anxious to perpetuate his memory in that province, had a painted glass window erected over the Allai at Christ Church, Rawalpindi, which was designed and executed by Messrs. Jones and Willis, London.

The window at the Calcutta Cathedral, which was erected sometime during 1881, was probably designed and executed by Messrs. Morris and Company, who also provided the double stone mullions and tracery. The painting, worked in delicate shades of colourings, consists of 12 large coloured lights ornamented with lines of tracery above, which are filled in with 4 small lights of coloured figures and others of floral designs. The 12 main lights, representing scenes in the life of St. Paul, are arranged in four groups of three lights each beneath which run the following lines, also worked in coloured glass.

"Whom ye imagineth". "Worship Him and adore". "Unto you".

"He came unto them to Coss". "His life is in Him". "He shook  
off the beast into the fire".

"Barnabas took him". "And brought him". "To the apostles".

"He received sight and arose and was baptised". "Lord, what  
wilt Thou have me to do".

"Lord Jesus receive my spirit".

On the floor of the sanctuary wall, directly beneath the window, are three brass plates bearing the following inscription in Latin, English and Bengali written from the pen of Sir Arthur Hobhouse, Member of Council. These plates were fixed sometime during 1894:

"To the Glory of God  
and in memory of the Right Reverend  
Robert Milman, D.D.  
late Bishop of Calcutta  
The Government of India  
having lost his able support and aid  
has caused this window to be erected.  
Born at Easton in Cordano in the county  
of Somerset on the 25th January 1816  
Died at Rawalpindi  
on the 15th March 1876.  
In journeyings often  
In perils of water  
In perils of the wilderness  
In wearings and painfulness



In watchings often  
In fastings often  
In the daily care of all the churches  
Devoting to God and man  
his wealth his strength  
and even his life  
he gave them and lost them not."

#### "TURNER WINDOW."

This painted glass window, which displaced one in plain coloured glass now to be seen over the entrance to the south transept, was a gift from Sir Montague Cornish Turner and was placed to the north of the Great East Window during the year 1904.

The window consists of 6 large lights of coloured figures supported by double stone mullions and surmounted with lines of tracery filled in with smaller coloured lights in floral designs. The 6 main lights are further ornamented above and below with panels of coloured glass in tasteful designs and each light has below it, the name of the figure worked in coloured glass. The figures represented are:

Upper lights. "Abraham." "Ruth." "Elijah."

Lower lights. "St. Paul". "St. Mary". "St. John."

On the floor of the Sanctuary directly below the window there used to be a brass plate bearing the following inscription:—

"To the Glory of God and in remembrance of mercies received 1877—1905, this window has been erected by Montague Cornish and Bertha Turner."

This brass plate was removed during 1914, when the console of the new organ was built over this spot and appears to have been lost sight of. It was however found later by the writer, who pointed out the window to which it belonged, but up to the time of writing his account the plate had not been put back into its former position.

#### COLOURED WINDOW IN TRANSEPT.

It is not known when this coloured window, of four beautiful panels in artistic designs, was erected or by whom it was presented. It certainly appears to have been an odd window in the sanctuary and is best placed in its present position in the south transept.

#### LANTERN LIGHTS.

The Lantern Tower was originally illuminated by 8 handsome glass windows 17' x 3', made by Collins, England, at a cost of about £50 each

and placed in position in the Lantern during June 1847. The windows were fitted with deep purplish-blue glass and the brilliancy of the cross lights, as they shone down from the lantern in the morning illuminating the lofty vaulted passages, used to produce a very beautiful and striking effect. The windows were unfortunately removed during the year 1934 when the present new tower was erected and it is a pity that they could not have been effectively used to ornament the walls of the Chapel in the south transept.

### PAINTED FRESCOES.

It was originally intended to erect two additional painted glass windows on either side of the great East Window, but on the advice of eminent Engineers, this scheme had to be abandoned as it was considered unsafe to remove the existing buttresses behind the proposed windows and to pierce through the eastern wall again. In the circumstances the Cathedral Vestry decided to ornament the Sanctuary by placing two vertical frescoes on the wall and to avoid taking any risks likely to weaken this portion of the edifice.

The fine "Florentine" paintings which we see to-day, were made by the firm of Messrs James Powell and Company, London, at a cost of £260 each, plus £150 for freight, insurance and packing charges and a further sum of Rs. 495/- which was spent locally on erecting them. The paintings, executed in delicate shades of colouring consist of 2 panels each inscribed with suitable texts painted below the panel, were dedicated by Bishop Coplestone on 17th January 1909.

The fresco to the south was a gift from Daniel Willis Peter King, Agent of the Calcutta Bank, and the little girl seen prominently as the central figure in the lower panel, is said to be a likeness of his daughter who had died at an earlier date. The subjects depicted in this painting with their texts are as follows:

Upper panel. "Christ raising Jairus' daughter."

Text. "The damsel is not dead but sleepeth."

Lower panel. "Christ blessing little children."

Text. "Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not."

On the sanctuary floor beneath the painting is a brass plate bearing the following inscription:—

"To the Glory of God and in grateful remembrance of many blessings the panels above the reredos on the right side of the East Window have been erected by Daniel Willis Peter King, for 30 years Banker and Merchant in this city, and his wife Lucia, X'mas 1908".

The fresco to the north was subscribed for by Sir Montague Turner who contributed £50, Sir Ernest Cable £50, Hon. Mr. Bradshaw £10 and several

past and present members of the Cathedral congregation who contributed £150. The subjects depicted in this painting with their texts are as follows:—

Upper panel. "Christ healing the blind and the sick."

Text. "The blind and the lame came unto Him and He healed them."

Lower panel. "Christ receiving little children."

Text. "Whoso shall receive one such little child in My name receiveth Me."

On the sanctuary floor beneath the painting is a brass plate bearing the following inscription:—

"To the glory of God and in grateful remembrance of many blessings the panels above the reredos on this side of the East Window have been erected by several members past and present of the congregation of this Cathedral, X'mas 1908".

WILLIAM S. BIRNEY.

(To be continued)

---

## The Malabar Corsair and the Company's Trade with India (1600 to 1661).

---

**D**ARING and efficient, stubborn fighters and excellent sailors, the privateers and pirates of the Malabar coast (Nairs, Máppillas, Sanganiens, Marathas (Maharáshtriyas and others) hampered the growth of the Company's early commercial relationship with India in no uncertain way.

Malabar is the country of hills, akin to the Tamil, Malai (hill) and Malaier (men living in a hilly country). The opinion is also expressed that the name may be derived from Arabic sources.

Malabar, I must point out at the outset, is not to be strictly confined (for our present purpose) to the narrow strip of Western India inhabited by a people speaking Malayálam, distinguished by customs and culture of its own, and numbering approximately 3 millions and a half.

The extent of the coast is thus referred to in a contemporary document. "The King of Indiaes power extendeth" from Surat to "Bassune", "and from thence it is taken to be the Mallavars coast"(1).

"The Malabars" says Mandelso, "inhabit the coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and are mostly pirates or soldiers". They were mostly to be found in the seas from October to May (2). "(The) country" "of the king of Samorin", says Fitch, "beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere unto Goa". "The Malabar coast", says Pyrard de Laval (by the beginning of our period), "is inhabited . . . by two sorts of peoples, natives and foreigners", "the Malabars, as being the inhabitants of the sea-coast of Malabar", and "the Nairs". "The coast of Malabar", says, "John Nieuhoff" (1664), "is properly called that tract of ground where the Malabar tongue is us'd, beginning 50 leagues to the south below Goa and extending to the south to Cape Comorin, under  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degree of northern latitude, about 80 leagues along that coast"(3).

Gosse (4) who focuses attention only on the marauders organised under the Angrias while dealing with "the pirates of Malabar", says that

---

(1) O. C. 2182.

(2) Mandelslo, p. 87; p. 69: I.A. 1924, p. 71.

(3) Foster: *Early Travels*; Hakluyt V; "A collection of voyages and Travels" (Churchill, Vol. II), p. 220; Gray and Bell: *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval*, Vol. I.

(4) *The History of Piracy*.

"the west coast of India between Bombay and Cochin (is) known to sailors as the Malabar coast".

Biddulph also in his "Pirates of Malabar etc." does not speak of the Malabar corsairs of our period.

But piracy and privateering were rampant on this coast, during the period under review. At the same time, it is not certainly correct to say that all the Malabaris on the seas during this time, were pirates or privateers. The king of Cananor according to de Laval is "powerful on the sea, has a large number of ships, trades all over India, and for this purpose has a number of factors at different places". "The Nayros," says "John Nieuhoff", "are descended of noble families, and brought up to the war. They appear with a shield on their left-arm, which they carry aloft, and with a naked sword in the right-hand. They are very haughty and at first pretended to dispute the rank with the Portugueses which occasioned no small disturbance".

Regarding the merchants and the corsairs he says:—"All the Mohometan Malabars are either merchants or pirates ; if any foreigners come into the harbours where these pirates lie, they endeavour to engage them into their service ; which if they accept of, they maintain them and their families throughout the whole winter. When they are just a going to ingage an enemy, they take some Bethel, by which they swear to stand by one another ; if they take a prize, they ransack the ship, and all the mariners and passengers before they come ashore ; the captain and other officers take the best part for themselves, the rest is divided among the crew. These poor wretches endure incredible fatigues and miseries at sea, and though they have no head that has any legal authority over them, they seldom fall out or quarrel, a thing scarce to be believed among us. Several of the richer sort of the Malabars equip certain vessels with a good number of soldiers and galley—slaves, which always keep at sea, except that now and then the captain comes ashore to dispose of the booty, which the merchants buy, without any regard whether they belong to friends or foes, provided they can have a good bargain."

"The Mahometan Malabars knowing no other preference but riches ; the merchants are distinguish'd only by their habits ; both these and the corsairs being never to be seen without arms ; but the merchants wear their hair short, and have a bonnet of red scarlet cloth upon their heads, sometimes with a handkerchief rowl'd about it like a turbant, which they call Mondu, and are commonly imbroider'd with gold and coloured silk. They half shave their beard, but without whiskers, wear a silk or callico vest, reaching three inches below the middle, and under that a kind of drawers hanging down to the knees. They commonly carry a silk or callico handkerchief flourish'd, in which they tie and hide their purses. The corsairs never shave their heads, but were their hair very long, like the women, which they, like the rest of the Indians tie together in a knot and wear one of these flourish'd and imbroider'd handkerchiefs over it ; for the rest they go quite naked, except that they were a silk vestment down to their knees ; both the

merchants and corsairs have knives with silver hafts, on which (they hang) all sorts of toys, such as tooth-picks, and the like, all curiously wrought."

"The corsairs shave their beards, but have whiskers, which in time grow excessively, so that one may tie them together behind. These, as well as all the Malabars, use no shoes." Their country according to "Nieuhoff" produced "great store of the best pepper exceeding all the rest in goodness". "Formerly", he says (in 1664), "the inhabitants us'd to exchange the pepper with the foreign merchants for silver, gold, amson and other commodities". Since then, "the Dutch East Indian Company have made themselves supreme in certain parts, and driven out the Portuguese". "Besides this, the country of Malabar is full of coco-trees. . . . they drive a considerable trade with the oil and bark of this fruit".

The produce of the country in which trade was carried on is also referred to by Fitch (5). "Here groweth the pepper; and it springeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but something longer, like the wheat ear; and at the first the bunches are green, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the ivy leafe and thinner . . . . All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this country . . . . Here are very many palmer or coco-trees, which is their chiefe food; for it is their meat and drink, and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before". "Nowhere in all the Malabar Indies is there so much pepper as there and at Calicut . . . . the next greatest trade", says Pyrard, "is carried on with Bengal", "and the merchandise carried there most frequently is the little shells of the Maldives, wherewith every year many vessels are laden" (6).

It seems that teak was also exported from Malabar since very early times.

Even by the middle of the 18th century pepper occupied an important place "among articles that belong" "to the collection of stock merchandise". "I put pepper in the first place", says Julius Valentijn Stein Van Gollennesse in his "Memorandum on the administration of the Malabar Coast" (1743 A.D.), "because the Hon'ble Company maintains its expensive establishments on this coast for the sake of that grain".

The Rose, (to take an example) "had taken" according to a record of 25th February, 1622 (6a), "three Mallabars juncks bound for Gogo". But the President ordered their release. The orders were disregarded, and "Johnson's men" plundered the juncks of some of their goods. The release was to take place in presence of the captains "that they may give receipts for everything that is handed over". A document of 5th March, 1622 says that they were actually released. Five Malabar juncks", according to a letter from Swally, of 1623, (6b) "were taken but subsequently released, four of

(5) Foster: *Early Travels*, p. 45.

(6) Gray and Bell: *The Voyage of Laval*, p. 438.

(6a) *Marine Records*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 37; E. F. 1622-23, p. 42; F. R. Surat Cii, p. 120 etc.; *Selections from the Rec. of the Mad. Govt.*; Dutch Rec. No. 13.

(6b) O. C. 1135, E. F. 1622-23, p. 342.

them having passes from the Fleet of Defence and the fifth one from the English factors at Mokha". The Company wanted to make "the coast of Malabar" "a pepper mart" in 1626, according to a letter from Swally (6c). There was also a prosperous commerce between the Malabar and Surat. The English who seem to have been interfering with this was "enforced by" "the Governor" "to grant cowles to divers Mallabars for their secure trading".

Captain Weddell was specially instructed on 16th April 1633 thus:— (6d) "If therefore yow meete with any, lett them peaceably passe without offering them any violence, unles yow take such course as any act committed against them be never brought to publique hearing". The Company's President himself seems to countenance hostile acts of a doubtful nature. Their trade in "cotton wool" with Surat is referred to also in later letters (6e). The Instructions to William Pitt of 5th March 1636 refer to "the frequent resort of Mallabarr merchants unto (Dabhol)" (6f). Malabar pepper is again referred to in a letter of the Company dated 9th March 1630, a Surat despatch of 31st December 1630, and the letter to Weddell and another of 24th October, 1636.

The letter of President Wylde and others to the Company, dated 13th April, 1630 (7) again says that "the Jonah etc., passing alongst the coast in her way to Bantam, surprized a Mallabar junck laden in this place, tooke all from them, and carried away the junck, which by the way in a storme sunck in the sea, as Captain Swanley reporteth. (When the) owners of this junck and goods came hether to require restitution", "wee made a long deniaill (alledging their king did owe us monies and they alsoe did take our people wheresoever they mett them) untill the Governour would seeme to force itt from us, or would complaine to the king that wee robd and spoyld the traders to his port". "These pilfering surprizals doe the nation and your accion much wronge then any other thing whatsoever, and which wee labour to avoyd; but such is the preying disposition of your seamen that all is fish that commeth to nett". The adverse effect on the Company's commercial interests by raiding propensities of some of their own sailors is thus again forcibly expressed. The probability that the Malabar would complain to the Mughal authorities shows that on this particular occasion the attack was made on one of their vessels engaged in trade. The President himself acknowledged that the ship was not "lawfull prize".

Thirdly, these plunderings justified Malabari reprisals to a certain extent. Fourthly, iniquity of such proceedings was perceived by the higher servants of the Company, and President Rastell predicts on 12th November, 1630 (8), that the captain would be severely dealt with, on his return to England, for

---

(6c) O. C. 1180; E. F. 1624-29, p. 55.

(6d) F. R. Surat, Vol. I p. 215; Letter books, Vol. I, p. 25; E. F. 1630-33, p. 9; p. 121; E. F. 1634-6, p. 314.

(6e) e.g., Methwold's letter of 29th December, 1634; E. F. 1634-36.

(6f) F. R. Surat, Vol. I, p. 439, p. 65.

(7) O. C. 1306; E. F. 1630-33, p. 19.

(8) Surat Factory Outward Letter Book, Vol. I, p. 74; E. F. 1630-33, p. 92.

"that pilfering act of his" and other things. But "lawful prizes" were allowed to be made, and in such cases, "one sixth part" went to the sailors. The pilfering here refers not only to the quasipiratical seizure of the ship; but also to misappropriation of the greater part of the plunder by the sailors themselves. The Company's servants had to pay eventually 11,250 Muhammadis to the Malabaris.

Peter Andrews in "The Homeward voyage of the Hart" (9) says that this ship "came from Suratt and had a passe both from the Dutch and English; but howsoever they made prize of her". It is probable that the crew also were treated badly.

The factors were also forced to make up the losses, sustained by the vessels plundered by Capt. Quail. Orders were issued forbidding seizure of "Malabar juncks". The account of the voyage of the *Discovery* to "Gombroon" in the Marine Records states that the ship bought fish and cocoanuts from the Malabaris and enquired where water could be obtained.

Writing on "2nd February, 1633-34" (10) Mundy says, "There came to us" (11) "3 Mallbarre Frigotts of 6 that had layen many dayes about the hole to have spoken with us. The Captaine of that Fleete came with his vessell abroad the Mary, where were all the English Commaunders betwene whome there was a kindle of Contract made, that our ships might goe for Batacala (12) to lade Pepper, writieng to their Kinge or Naigue to that purpose."

The Malabaris bartered on this occasion "31 baggs of pepper weighinge about 1 cwt. each" for a "small brasse peece". The "Captain" was probably Babaraut (Bábá Ráwat) whom Mundy calls an "arche pyratt". He seems to have readily combined trade with looting, and probably attacked a Surat ship only a fortnight ago. We also remember that "Bardaratt" was helpful to the English in arranging for the release of the *Comfort's* sailors. "Bardaratt" might have been the same as this "Babaraut" of Mundy.

"Babarauts Frigott" in the drawing enclosed by Mundy has an efficient appearance.

There is evidence of the continuance of legitimate trade between Malabar and Aden, Mokha, Achin and other places during 1642 to 1645, and later. Passes had to be given, though reluctantly, to trading vessels of this "theftuous nation", by 1642. "The best way to revenge you of them, and repaire your losses, is to waylay their vessells", write President Fremlen and others, "bound to Aden and Mocha". These reprisals would naturally breed counter-reprisals.

Another difficulty with regard to the Malabaris arose by this time. "Esquire Courtyns grand Captain Hall delivered in Mr. Prowds hearing

(9) Marine Records, Vol. XLIX, p. 52; Herbert's Account.

(10) See Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, Vol. II, p. 316.

(11) Off Swally.

(12) Bhatkal.



that, if wee disturbed or surprzed the Mallabars, hee or his subordinates would afford like measure to the Guzurratt juncks whearever they encountered them". That again shows that Courteen's Association thought friendship of the Malabar is worth while cultivating. They would not have conceivably thought it profitable to ally themselves with these people, if all Malabar is were indiscriminate plunderers (13). "Mallabar merchants men laden with rice and bound for Muscatt' are referred to in a Surat letter of 24th April, 1656. Some of their vessels "bound to Calicut with cotton, cummin seed and other goods", were entrusted with a letter by the English to the king of Cananore who was regarded as the overlord of the Maldives, and to whom "respective thankfulness" was promised, if he would be good enough to "enquire after" "and retourne" the sailors of the Persia Merchant believed to have been lost near those islands. When these were forced back to Surat by bad weather, a further letter to Masters was sent by the President and Council through the same channel (14).

The English themselves state definitely that some of the Malabar is were traders. "Virgee Vora" (15), one document adds however, was "the onely trader with them." In a letter of Femell dated 12th May, 1611, we find mention of a number of Malabar is captains at Mocha (16). In the letter to Morse (referred to already), dated 24th December, 1650, the Company's officers point out that only Malabar is vessels "unprovided with" passes were to be captured or destroyed", "as they" were "taken to be robbers", and were "most dangerous to the Company's shipping" (16a).

Generally speaking, attacks on Malabar "junks" by the English Company do not seem in all cases to be justifiable punishment meted out to pirates. They smell sometimes of jealousy and retaliation and even of plundering.

As early as 1614 the Company's Minutes say that Best wanted "to make prize of the Malabar is who are tributary to the Portugals". The letter of 27th January, 1642 (referred to above) admits that reprisals "were made (upon) the Malabar is at every opportunity." Three Malabar vessels "laden with coco-nuts etc.," were attacked by the Seahorse and the Francis. Two of these were burnt, fourteen Malabar is were made prisoners, "and the rest of the Malabar is were turned adrift in the third without sail or oars". These vessels were probably peaceful traders, because they also ventured to demand "justice from the Governor of Surat".

Trading in loot was however not at all uncommon. "On the 20th December, 1615", for example, "a Malabar brought into Cranganore (17) a prize which he had taken from the Portugese and would have traded with

(13) O. C. 1787 etc.

(14) E. F. 1655-1660, p. 78; F. R. Surat, Vol. 85, 142.

(15) E. F. 1646-50, p. 331; p. 340.

(16) O. C., Vol. I, No. 46.

(16a) O. C. 2182; E. F. 1646-50, p. 327; p. 331.

(17) Kudungalloor.

us, but, says the Journal of Roger Hawes, "we could not get in any of our money due long before" (18).

But this loot seems to be that of war or quasi-war, for the same authority says that next year, the Portuguese entered "Cranganore", and were crushingly defeated by the Malabaris, "nine or ten of their vessels" being "driven ashore".

But pirates and privateers there certainly were. "The Naires which be under the king of Samorin, which be Malabars", says Fitch, "have alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe and steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out; but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes or boats together; and have in every one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every year many foists and boats of the Portugals."

Fitch's account throws some light on the connection of the Malabari freebooters with their state, a connection which perhaps in some cases would prevent them from being called common pirates.

De Laval also says that there were merchants as well as "robbers or sea warriors" among them. These merchants dealt with looted property also. "All the merchants of the coast when they hear that the galiots of the pirates are about to come in, hold themselves in readiness to buy their goods cheap, and then they have the assurance to go and sell them in the markets of the very merchants of whom they were taken. These latter frequently buy them back a second time; and though they recognise their own goods that matters not, so long as they have the Portuguese passport". The motive of national animosity is thus apparent. "A man who would be welcomed among them must be always talking of warring against the Portuguese, and always speaking ill of them,—for, in truth, I never heard a good word said for them".

Speaking of Goa and its commerce, De Laval remarks, "At Goa the whole city looks out for these Cafles and fleets, as in Spain they await those from the Indies, And when they arrived not at their due season, everyone is in apprehension of the Hollanders or the Malabars or the Cambayans themselves who frequently stop them when ready to set out. . . It is seldom that the Malabar corsairs fail to capture some of them."

He adds that the port of Muttungal was "one of the harbours of refuge for the Malabar Corsairs and pirates". "These robbers and pirates must take great booty, for besides the cost and expenses of their Pados and galiots, they have to pay customs and passport duties to the Nair king of the land; then they are subjected to the giving of all sorts of gratifications

and presents—as for instance, to the king of Calicut and to their own king.” Finch says, “Supposing (some) Portuguls frigates to be Malabars (the Indian customs—authorities) durst not adventure their own River”. (The Portuguese however attacked the English). In one year, “the Malabarres vexed the Portugals and tooke or sunke of them at times sixtie saile or more”. “Frigats and galiots of the Malabars (were) spoiling on their coast”. “In January (1609) came other newes of thirtie frigats, which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, beeing at this time masters of the seas. They are good Souldiers and carry (in each frigate one hundred souldiers, and in) their galiots, two hundred”, Finch also speaks of another defeat inflicted by the Malabaris on a Portuguese fleet, later on.

The treaty of 7th June, 1615 between Jahángír and the Portuguese (19) says:—“The Malabars being pirates, who gain their livelihood by theft, shall not be allowed to enter the ports of either king, and should they do so, the Portuguese shall be permitted to enter any ports or river where the Malabars may happen to be, and seize them”.

A Dutch record of 12th December, 1641 refers to “the pirates of Bergera, Chambay and other places (on the Malabar coast) ‘who’ will attack any vessel they” “meet with” (20).

By about this time, in the army that De Brito built up at Syriam, there were Malabaris. De Brito, a quasi-privateer (on occasion) was at last “carried to the king (of Ava) and by him ordered to be impaled, and set up in an emience above the fort” (20a) De Monfart who visited Malabar in 1608-9 says, “(The people) are exceeding black, but yet not curled, flat-nosed or great lipt as the Negroes be, nevertheless with as good faces as any in all Europe. They are Mahometans and valiant, although they are somewhat of a savage inclination and would never come to composition with the Portugals, but delight themselves to be at variance with all their neighbours”. “They took 160 caravels from the Portugals”, “meanwhile I was there” (20b).

“There are some of the Malabars along this coast”, says Sieur Dubois, in 1670, “who, with numbers of dhows will attack the vessels they see, of whatever nation they may be; and when they take a vessel there’s no quarter for those who are therein”. According to Dellon, some of the Malabaris “respected no passes, by whomsoever they might be given, no religion, no nation, nor did they spare their own friends or neighbours, if they met them at sea. . . They would ransom others, but not Christians”. The latter statement seems to be an exaggerated one. In any case during this period (as we have seen above) they did ransom English prisoners, in quite a business-like manner. That some of the trading must have been in loot, is borne out again by a remark of Dellon that “Couleas Marcal” “of Bargara”

(19) Danvers 11, p. 174; Faria 111, 221; Orme. Hist. Frag., p. 361; Bom. Gaz. I, ii, p. 62; I.A. 1924.

(20) India off. Dutch records.

(20a) Faria Y. Souza 111.

(20b) Somers: Collin. of Tracts 111.

was a rich "merchant" "and a famous pirate in these parts". Dellon interviewed him on some business. He also mentions "Cognali" "the most famous pirate in these seas".

"Nor is the voyage safe", says Gemelli Careri (1695), "on account of Malabars. . . . These are pirates of several nations, as Moors, Gentiles, Jews and Christians, and fall upon all they meet, with a great number of boats full of men. . . . These people take poor passengers, and lest they should have swallow'd their gold, tho' (they have no need of it), give them a potion, which makes them digest all they have in their bodies, which done, they search the stinking excrements to find the precious metal. I was very much afraid of the Malabar receipt, having never taken any purge and therefore thought best to expect the convoy" (21).

Pyrard himself saw these pirates capture "at one swoop forty or fifty of" the boats of "the Diu merchants". This "was no uncommon occurrence". One of the patrons of these pirates was the Raja of Calicut who "ever remained a sworn enemy of the Portuguese". Again, this support by a ruling prince would perhaps make these from the European point of view of those days quasi-privateers (if not privateers) (22). Ravages of these corsairs were felt more after 1630 than earlier, because the famine of that year left Bengal less affected than other parts of India, and communication with Bengal and Surat by sea had to be maintained, and the coastal trade paid more attention to.

Kerridge and Rastell wrote to Ahmedabad on 21st November, 1619, that the Governor being afraid of an attack from some "Malabars tried to induce" a part of the fleet which left for Jask on the 7th . . . to remain behind. They refused; "which taking (in ev) yll parte, the dogg miscalled and th(re)atened us (as) accustomed" (23).

A letter of 24th July, 1622 from "Cambay", to take another instance, tells us of the anxiety felt about depredations by any "Portugalls or Mallabars". Captain Hall of the *Blessing* claimed in a letter of 16th December, 1623, that he drove off three ships of Malabari pirates. For this service "the people did like marvelous well of our nation and sente us beefe and other refreshings what wee could desyer". The Company's commercial interests were thus indirectly advanced. William Minors' account of the voyage of the *James* to Surat speaks of a ship which had been taken and plundered by Malabarais. A record of consultations on board the *James* at Swally, says on 27th October, 1624 that the Malabarais had captured a vessel carrying wine. (24). A letter to the factors in Persia of 26th May, 1625 points out that an Armenian was taken captive by the "Malabars". Being released, he intended to go to Persia overland. Robert Fox's account of the voyage of the *James* from Batavia to Surat mentions on 30th

(21) "A voyage round the world" in Churchill, Vol. IV.

(22) Bal Krishna: Commercial relations between India and England.

(23) Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 2122 f. 182.

(24) Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 2123 f. 131; O. C. 1134; Marine Records, Vol. XLI.

September, 1625, that a junk of about 20 tons was seized by Malabaris five days earlier. On 13th March, 1627, "the Discovery was sent" (according to Andrew Warden) "to secure two junks against the Malabar frigates. In the same year an English fleet attacked" a Malabar pirate junk near Swally Road with two barges, each carrying fifty musketeers". The attack failed, "A small fort" at Thana was (according to a letter of 4th January, 1628) built "to keep the Mallavar frigates from rounding the iland". The same letter again mentions that "small forts" were built by the "Portugalls" "to keep the Mallabars from robbing the country" near "Bumbaice" (25).

At the same time, the hospitable treatment of foreigners by the Zamorin of Calicut (both of Asiatics, e.g., of the Persian ambassador who was shipwrecked off Calicut, and of Europeans, e.g., of Vasco da Gama himself) on many occasions, is well proved by history.

Ruy Freire according to a document of 30th November, 1630, (26) was called away to defend the Portuguese "caphila against a great force of Mallabars lying in wait for it". The boats which carried the goods of the Blessing and Exchange were, (according to Warden's account) well armed "for fear" both of the Portuguese and the Malabaris. On 19th January, 1634, "six Malabar frigates attacked a Surat junk returning from Persia, but she was rescued by some Portuguese vessels" (27). The instructions to Andrew Warden of 31st December, 1635 asked him (among other things) "to be vigilant against attacks by the Mallabars for although they bee not mightie, they are many". Those to Thomas Byam of the same date "warn him to be on his guard against the Malabars". When Bornford "was dispeeded to Goa" in the Kit, he had to sail "in company with the Portuguese fleet from Cambay for feare of the Malabars who" "followed in the reare to snap up them which lagge(d)" (28).

Methwold, as we have seen before, was asked by the Indian authorities to protect ships against the Malabaris, according to certain entries in his diary. The Malabaris "who begann to swarme hereabouts in great numbers" on this occasion succeeded in raising the value of the Company as an ally, and put indirectly almost in their hands "acquittinge the customes". Naturally, "the Governor was very importunate that the Swan should ride at the mouth of the river to guard it against the Malabars". The pirates chased away the ship carrying horses for the Mughal. The Governor ordered Methwold to send the Swan to "Dio" where he supposed the Indian ship had fled, "to convoy his friggatt unto this place". Methwold refused. "But finding the Governor very angry", the Company's President had "to hould a candle to the Devill (and) deale by him accordinge to the custome of the Chineses, observing him that he may doe noe hurte". But the Indian

(25) F. R. Persia, Vol. I; Marine Records, Vol. XXXIX; Vol. XLV; O.C. 1264; E. F. 1624-29; Herbert.

(26) Surat Fac. O. L. Book, Vol. I; E. F. 1630-33, p. 148.

(27) E. F. 1634-36; Marine Records, Vol. LX, p. 135, 136.

(28) F. R. Sur., Vol. I; E. F. 1634-6.

vessel was at Chaul. The Bassein was to be sent to convoy her. The weakness of Mughal sea-power, we may note here, was thus testified to.

An account of Weddell's voyage records that "no stock" was "ever kept at the port" of Bhatkal as it did not have "defences to secure goods from the Malabars and others" (29). Six Englishmen were sent to defend "a junk" against "the Malabars", according to a letter of 10th January 1638 (30). A long Surat despatch of 4th January, 1639 tells us of fights between the Kit sent to fetch goods from Rajapur and several Malabar ships" (31). English captives were taken by them, and the account of the Homeward Voyage of the Mary (32) states that she proceeded to Cananore "to releve those English captives as were of the Comfort taken by the Mallabars". Clark reported from Surat on 1st April, 1639 that off latitude  $11^{\circ} 20'$  "they were chased from early morning by nine frigates. By eight o'clock the Malabars were within range, and then for some time they kept their distance; but . . . at noon . . . they handed theyr sayles and immediately rew all together on board us and lashed fast", notwithstanding, the fact that the English "placed every shot into them and spoyled may of theyr people". The English blew up their upper deck in defence, and "divers of the" Malabaris were "slayne and maimed". "This seemed little or nothing to dinish or quell theyr courage". The English however "still continued to resist". But the Malabaris were "so resolut that they would not step aside from the muzzell of" the English "ordnance". The result was that 23 Englishmen were taken prisoners, five killed and their ship destroyed. Mandelslo says that the English slew six hundred, and Tavernier says, twelve hundred of the Malabaris. "Bardaratt" negotiated between the English and Malabaris for the ransom that was to be paid. 4,000 crowns, it is said, had to be paid in exchange for the Captain; and widows of the killed Malabaris got eight shillings each.

The Mary was attacked by Malabaris on 26th January, 1639, by moonlight. The Malabaris suffered heavy losses, and moved off.

On 3rd September, 1639, Cogan records "his perilous voyage to Goa in the Kit" "during which he was chased for fourteen hours by some Malabars". The Prosperous which was bought from the Governor of Surat "thrice assayed to come for Suratt" (according to a letter of December, 1639), and "had bine as often inforced into Goa by the Mallabars, with whom although she fought on very unequall tearmes, yet she cleared herself with a greate deal of reputation to those five Englishmen in her . . . and in the first conflict fired one of three frigotts that assaulted her" (33). A

---

(29) Bhatkal is written Batacalla. It lies to the south of Goa, and must not be confused with Baticaloa in Ceylon. Pub. Rec. Office. Dom. Chas. I, vol. cccli, no. 30; E. F. 1637-41.

(30) O. C. 1613; E. F. 1637-41.

(31) E. F.; O.C. 1656.

(32) Marine Records, Vol. LXII; E.F.

(33) O. C. 1671; 1701; 1725.

despatch from Swally Marine dated 29th December 1640 records the fact (that is obvious during the immediately preceding period) that the Company had "grievous occasion to remember how strong and desperate the Mallabars are become". The English retaliated ; for example, by "surprizing" "with as much facility as" "might bee desyred" "three Malavars tradeinge vessels bounde toe Saratt" "filled onely with coconuts, (and) cairo beetlenuts". The English "selected from their several companies eight men and six youthes", held them captives, and "fired" "twoe" out of their three ships (34). This action resulted in complaints to the Indian authorities by the Malabaris. One must admit that it is rather difficult at times to differentiate between acts of piracy and those of reprisal. The menace of the Malabaris continues to hamper activities of the Company's servants, even later on. "The Hind and the Scaflower" according to a letter of 27th January, 1644 were considered to be "altogether unsuitable for" Indian waters, because "there decks" were "very low, and soe close that, if they should bee assaulted by Mallabarrs, they" would "rather stifle then preserve" the sailors. All masters of ships were ordered by 1644 to attack the Malabars "outside the prescribed limits" "on every possible occasion". The Hart according to a letter to the Company of 28th November, 1644, "came round by way of" "the Chawges". The resultant loss of time and consequent injury to trade "might", it was suggested, "bee avoided if the Company would supply a vessel of greater force for this service". The English retaliations went on in full swing. "A very great and rich Mallavar junk belonging to Cannanore, which set sail from Mocha" "was taken and carryed off to sea". The Malabaris however fought desperately, and a number of them and forty Englishmen were killed, in the conflict. The ship belonged to one of the princes probably a Mápilla chief. Probably it was not a pirate vessel. Then again, the John, Francis, Prosperous and the Kit were sent to the Red Sea to seize "Malabar traders". The Francis and Prosperous lay "off Aden", while the other two "kept the Bab". "And so we have fair hopes yet further", say the Company's officers, "to chasetize those villaines". A letter of 31st March, 1645, says that the Supply while returning from Manilla, was to "take in at Achin the produce of the stock" at that place. She might have to be protected by another ship "from the Malabars". In the preceding year she had fought Malabari ships and captured one of them with some cargo. The route to Surat from Persia was declared to be unsafe because of "the Malabars", by a document of 7th September, 1645 (35).

The difficulty of the Company in solving this Malabari Problem, (as we have seen before) was augmented by the help that Courteen's Association offered to the Malabaris by about this time. A letter of 28th November, 1644 describes how the Dutch also "then riding before Goa" protected a Malabar ship which was baing pursued by the Seahorse.

(34) O. C. 1764; 1771.

(35) O. C. 1858; 1901; 1922; 1944; E. F. 1642-45.

We may note in this connection that the capture of the Cannanore ship prompted the Malabaris to threaten reprisals against Courteen's settlements specially the Kirwar one, and thus indirectly benefitted the Company.

The skirmish between the Seahorse and the Francis and the Malabari fleet is also related in a letter of the Company dated 24th March, 1642. It hopes "that the prisoners would be exchanged for the Englishmen still in the hands of the Malabars".

The Company also ordered on 14th February, 1644 that the ships were to be better armed "to prevent the mischief of the Malabars".

Breton and others in a letter of 25th January, 1647 pointed out that "the Francis laden with pepper for Gombroon left Swally on" 2nd December, "but meeting with the Endeavour, richly laden, she (as ordered) returned in her company to guard her from Malabar pirates". Tavernier in January, 1648, wanted to be escorted from "Mingrelia" to Goa by a man-of-war "for fear of the Malvares which are on the coast". The Company is informed on 20th April, 1648, that the Lanneret was ordered to "wait for the Expedition and return in her company, for protection against the Malabars. A letter of 26th November, 1653 (from Surat) says, "The liberty of there" (of the Portuguese) "ports were granted unto us . . . . For any goods wee shall carry hence to Goa, the distance being 120 leagues amongst the shore, where there is noe going but in company of the caphilla, in respect of the Mallabars, . . . Nor is the caphilla able to defend themselves but from the Mallabars, and that many times with much difficulty". One Dutch ship—the Wapen van Batavia—we may notice incidentally, is mentioned in a letter of 7th May, 1653 to have been "reported" as "fired by the Mallabarrs". The "shipp being one of the best ; stragling from the rest of the fleete . . . . was set upon by ten saile of Mallabars frigatts, but whome shee was taken and fired with all that was in hir, and those of his company that escaped fire and water were captived by ditto Mallabars" (36).

"The Mahrattas" we also notice, "cruise about" (their) newly built forts of Khandin, Kalaba, Kasa and Katora", says the Muntakhábu-l Lubáb, "and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity". But their glorified depredations belong mostly to a period later than ours. The story of "the several insults" that "Angria the Pyrate" "offered in those Parts on the Company's shipping belonging to Europe, as well as those which belong'd to the Island of Bombay", is about half a century distant.

Again the Abyssynians of Janjira were guilty of piratical acts, but "they seldom interfered with Europeans, except when acting under the orders of the Mughal Government".

"Rogpoore", says Crosby's Journal, "hath a little round iland in the middle going in (Janjira) with a castell uppon it and some peeces of ordinance, in it". The English had desired to acquire it in 1628 and again

(36) F. R. Mis. XII, 59; Ct. Bk. XIX; O. C. 2023; Tav. I. 14; O. C. 2079; 2352; 2329; E. F. 1646-50; 1651-54; Dak. Reg. 1653.



in 1639. A letter which reached England on 19th August, 1658 tells us that "overtures (were) made to us by Orangzeeb to assist him in the taking of Danda Rajapore Castle". The letter to the Company of 10th January, 1660, says:—"Those that inhabitt Danda Rajapore are pyrates and rogues, and maintaine vessels abroad to rob all that they master ; and it is but justice to roote out such roagues". By that time, the Company's servants in India wanted a fortified place on the Malabar coast very badly. The Portuguese refused accommodation, and consequently the plan to seize "Danda Rajpore" by a stratagem was conceived. "Roger Middleton (was to be sent) with a few attendants and a small present, in the forme of an Agent, to salute the Governor of Danda Rajapore Castle in a friendly manner, desiring him to give harbour to our shipping, if our occasions should so require. . . . But our main scope is that, under this forme, hee may take a view of the strength of the place, how scituated, the best to be assailed etc., . . . that if wee cannot fairly obtain (a harbour for shipping) we may forcibly". The justification of this dubious procedure is that it was to be done "lawfully, considering them as pirates". We have thus another reference to the piratical activities of the chief of this island.

The Sanganians, we also notice, had their depots in Gujarat. The Grab Service had to be founded by the Company as early as 1613 to check the pirates of the Tapti, Narmada, and Gulf of Cambay. The "Sangonas" are mentioned in the same breath with "Malabars" and Arabs in a record of 5th February, 1671. "The Sakanas", says Kháfí Khán, "are sometimes called bawárl, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat . . . notorious for their piracies, and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbási and Maskat. They do not (however) venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims" (37).

By about the beginning of our period, "Kunhale", a remarkable coxsair was treacherously murdered with some of his followers by the Portuguese. "So", says Faria Y. Souza, "did the governor and rabble go hand in hand in murder and breach of faith". It only added more fuel to the hatred felt against the Portuguese by the Malabaris, though the Zamorin had been a party to the surrender of the captured pirate-chief. Probably, the fact that this chieftain met his death with calm and serenity heightened the prestige that he had acquired during his lifetime. His refusal to turn a Roman Catholic and give up his faith probably also led to his being remembered as a *sahíd*. The advent of the English and Dutch enabled the Malabari to have revenge on his hated foe. The Sacrifice Rock or Kunháli's Rock and the Kotta river continued to be the headquarters of many a daring adventurer.

"It is impossible", say Gray and Bell, "not to regard (these corsairs), as to some extent", "in their long struggle with the Portuguese", "fighting

---

(37) Muntakhábu-l Lubáb in E and D; Forrest: Bombay Records I; I. A. 1924; E. F. 1622-23; 1655-60, etc.; Downing: "A Compendious History of the Indian Wars with an account of . . . Angria the Pyrate" etc.

the battle of free trade against monopoly, the battle of the whole coast against the Portuguese" predominance, "and from this point of view to deny them a certain measure of consideration, even of sympathy". This sympathy becomes deeper when we remember that the Portuguese were guilty of piratical and cruel acts themselves during the period we are dealing with. A certain *de jure* status was also enjoyed by some of these corsairs because of their relationship with the state to which they owed allegiance. In addition, one remembers, that even in case of their attacks on the Company's shipping, they were justified to a certain extent by the Law of Reprisal of those days.

But whether justifiable or not, like many other privateerings and piracies these attacks injured the commercial interests of the Company in many ways, and various measures had to be adopted to cope with the danger.

J. C. DE.

---

## The Editor's Note Book.

---

FORMERLY the Astrologers of India used to occupy a very conspicuous place in this country, when not only Hindus but also Muhammadans very frequently, in moments of anxiety, used to consult them. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the life of Tipoo Sultan, a man of a bold, intrepid character, and, of all Musalmans, one of the most zealous and intolerant in respect of his religion. The circumstances we allude to, happened on the day that his capital was taken by storm.

"On the Sultan's return to his apartment", (from visiting the ramparts) "an incident occurred which tended much to depress his spirits, and to diminish the courage of his attendants. A procession of Brahmin astrologers now waited on him, and announced, that some dreadful misfortune would befall him on *that day, unless averted by the prayers of the righteous, and by pious offerings.*

"Whether the Sultan's mind was now depressed by fear, or tainted by superstition, he repaired to his palace, and issued orders for *all the ceremonies* prescribed by the Brahmins to be duly performed, and, having given them several presents, requested their prayers for the prosperity of his government.

"His father, Hyder Ally, was very superstitious, and never commenced any undertaking without consulting the Brahmins, whom he liberally paid. This is the first time we have heard of Tippoo consulting them." (1)

N. G.

---

---

(1) See "Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Laboratory of the late Tipoo Sultan, and Memoirs of his life, etc." by Charles Stewart, Esq. p. 87.



# Calcutta Historical Society.

---

## Publications.

---

**Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.**—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta: arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

**The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.**—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

**Bengal : Past and Present.**—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 4, Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8, and Vols. XIX—XXIX, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

**To be obtained from the office of the Calcutta Historical Society,  
3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta.**

---

13

---

PRINTED BY S. C. MAJUMDAR AT THE SRI GOURANGA PRESS,  
5, & 6, CHINTAMANI DAS LANE, CALCUTTA.

---

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE,  
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
3, NAWAB ABDUR RAHMAN STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

---



W









M



W



M



